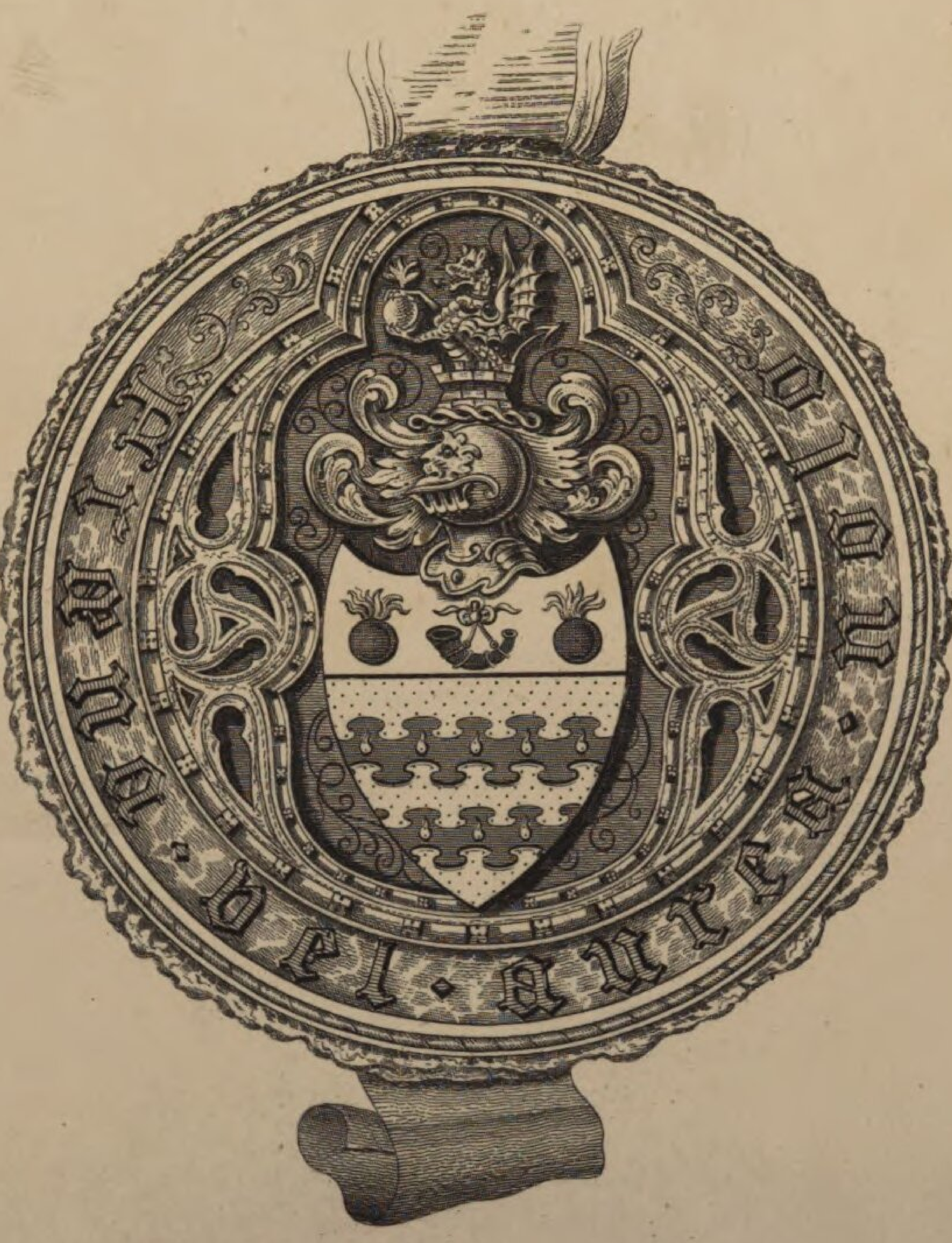
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A

GENERAL

HISTORY AND COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:

FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE,
BY SEA AND LAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. & F. A. S. EDIN.

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS AND CHARTS.

VOL. IV.

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TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

TWELVE months have now elapsed since the first half volume of this work was offered to the public. The favourable reception it has experienced gives the Editor reason to hope that he has fulfilled the engagements which he came under at its first appearance, and is a powerful inducement to continue his utmost exertions to preserve and improve the character of the work. In the four volumes which are now published, several extensive and important original articles are introduced, which have not hitherto appeared in any similar collection, and had not even been previously translated into English. These materially contribute towards the ample information which was formerly announced, in the Preface to the *first* Volume, as a leading object in this Collection. In the subsequent parts of the work, every effort shall be made to fill up its several divisions with original articles of similar interest and equal importance.

Encouraged by a satisfactory and increasing sale, the progress of publication has been somewhat hastened, beyond what was originally promised in the Prospectus and Conditions; as the *whole* of the fourth Volume is now published, at the period when only its *first half* was to have appeared. It is intended to repeat this anticipation occasionally, by the publication of two numbers or half-volumes at once, when opportunity offers. While this may gratify one portion of our readers, it is not meant to preclude others from continuing to be supplied, as before, with the numbers or half volumes at regular intervals, in their own option.

EDINBURGH, 1*st Jan.* 1812.

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EDINBURGH, 1*st Jan.* 1812.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

AND

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART II.

BOOK II. CONTINUED.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF MEXICO, WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1568, BY CAPTAIN BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, ONE OF THE CONQUERORS.—*Continued.*

SECTION VI.

The Spaniards commence their March to Mexico; with an account of the War in Tlascala, and the submission of that Nation.

EVERY thing being in readiness for our march to Mexico, we were advised by our allies of Chempoalla to proceed by way of Tlascala, the inhabitants of that province being in friendship with them and constantly at war with the Mexicans; and at our requisition, we were joined by fifty of the principal warriors of the Totanacas[1], who likewise gave us

1 Clavigero says that Cortes had some troops of the Totanacas, among whom were forty nobles, serving at the same time as auxiliaries, and as hostages for the fidelity of their nation.—Clavig. II. 30.

200 *tlamama*, or men of burden, to draw our guns and to transport our baggage and ammunition [2]. Our first day's march on the 16th of August 1519, was to *Xalapan*, and our second to *Socochima*, a place of difficult approach, surrounded by vines. During the whole of this march, the main body was kept in compact order, being always preceded by an advance of light infantry, and patroles of cavalry. Our interpreters informed the people of this place, that we were subjects of the great emperor Don Carlos, who had sent us to abolish human sacrifices and various other abuses; and as these people were allies of Chempoalla and independent of Montezuma, they treated us in a friendly manner. We erected a cross at this place, explaining its signification and giving them information of many things belonging to our holy faith, and exhorting them to reverence the cross. From this place we proceeded by a difficult pass among lofty mountains to *Texotla*, the people of which place were well disposed to us, as they also paid no tribute to Montezuma. Continuing our march through desert lofty mountains, we experienced excessive cold, with heavy falls of hail, and came next day to a pass, where there were some houses and large temples, and great piles of wood intended for the service of the idols. Provisions were scarce during the two last days, and we now approached the confines of the Mexican empire, at a place called *Xocotlan*; to the cacique of which place Cortes sent a message informing him of our arrival. The appearance of this place evinced that we were entering upon a new and richer country. The temples and other buildings were lofty, with terraced roofs, and had a magnificent appearance, being all plastered and white-washed, so as to resemble some of our towns in Spain; on which account we called this place *Castel blanco*.

In consequence of our message, the cacique and other principal persons of the town came out to meet us, and conducted us to our quarters, where they gave us a very poor entertainment. After supper, Cortes inquired respecting the military power of Montezuma, and was told that he was able to bring prodigious armies into the field. The city of Mexico was represented as of uncommon strength, being built on the water, with no communication between the houses,

2 In Clavigero, II. 29. the army of Cortes on this occasion is stated to have amounted to 415 Spanish infantry and 16 cavalry.—E.

houses, except by means of boats or bridges, each house being terraced, and only needing the addition of a parapet to become a fortress. The only access to the city was by means of three causeways or piers, each of which had four or five apertures for the passage of the waters, having wooden bridges which could be raised up, so as to preclude all access. We were likewise informed of the vast wealth possessed by Montezuma, in gold, silver, and jewels, which filled us with astonishment; and although the account we had already received of the military resources of the empire and the inaccessible strength of the capital might have filled us with dismay, yet we were eager to try our fortunes. The cacique expatiated in praise of Montezuma, and expressed his apprehension of having offended him by receiving us into his government without his leave. To this Cortes replied, That we had come from a far distant country by command of our sovereign, to exhort Montezuma and his subjects to desist from human sacrifices and other outrages; adding: "I now require all who hear me, to renounce your inhuman sacrifices, cannibal feasts, and other abominable customs; for such is the command of God, whom we adore." The natives listened to all this in profound silence, and Cortes proposed to the soldiers to destroy the idols and plant the holy cross, as had been already done at Chempoalla; but Father Olmedo recommended that this should be postponed to a fitter opportunity, lest the ignorance and barbarism of the people might incite them to offer indignity against that holy symbol of our blessed religion.

We happened to have a very large dog along with us, which belonged to Francisco de Lugo, which used to bark very loud during the night, to the great surprise of the natives, who asked our Chempoallan allies if that terrible animal was a lion or tiger which we had brought to devour them. They answered that this creature attacked and devoured whoever offended us; that our guns discharged stones which destroyed our enemies, and that our horses were exceedingly swift and caught whoever we pursued. On this the others observed that with such astonishing powers we certainly were *teules*. Our allies also advised them to beware of practising any thing against us, as we could read their hidden thoughts, and recommended them to conciliate our favour by a present. They accordingly brought us several ornaments of much debased gold, and gave us four women to make bread, and a

load

load of mantles. Near some of the temples belonging to this place I saw a vast number of human skeletons arranged in such exact order that they might easily be counted with perfect accuracy, and I am certain there were above an hundred thousand. In another part immense quantities of human bones were heaped up in endless confusion. In a third, great numbers of skulls were suspended from beams, and watched by three priests. Similar collections were to be seen everywhere as we marched through this district and the territories of Tlascala.

On consulting the cacique of Xocotla respecting the road to Mexico, he advised us to go through Cholula; but our allies strongly dissuaded us from that route, alleging that the people were very treacherous, and that the town was always occupied by a Mexican garrison, and repeated the former advice of going by Tlascala, assuring us of a friendly reception there. Cortes accordingly sent messengers beforé us to Tlascala announcing our approach, and bearing a crimson velvet cap as a present. Although these people were ignorant of writing, yet Cortes sent a letter by his messengers, as it was generally understood to carry a sanction of the message which was to be delivered. We now set out for Tlascala, in our accustomed order of march, attended by twenty principal inhabitants of Xocotla. On arriving at a village in the territory of Xalacingo [3], where we received intelligence that the whole nation of the Tlascalans were in arms to oppose us, believing us to be in alliance with their inveterate enemies the Mexicans, on account of the number of Mexican subjects who attended our army. So great was their suspicion on this account, that they imprisoned our two messengers, for whose return we waited two days very impatiently. Cortes employed the time in exhorting the Indians to abandon their idolatry and to reconcile themselves to our holy church. At the end of these two days, we resumed our march, accompanied by two of the principal people of this place whom Cortes demanded to attend us, and we soon afterwards met our messengers who had made their escape, either owing to the negligence or connivance of their guards. These messengers were in extreme terror, as the people of Tlascala threatened to

3 In Clavigero, II. 31. Iztacmaxitlan is said to have been the next stage after leaving Xocotla, and is described as a populous district, with a strong city or fortress on a high rock, defended by barbicans and ditches.—E.

to destroy us and every one who should adhere to us. As a battle was therefore to be expected, the standard was advanced to the front, and Cortes instructed the cavalry to charge by threes to the front, never halting to give thrusts with their lances, but urging on at speed with couched lances levelled at the faces of the enemy. He directed them also, when their lance was seized by the enemy, to force it from them by the efforts of the horse, firmly grasping the butt under the arm. At about two leagues from the last resting-place, we came to a fortification built of stone and lime, excellently constructed for defence, and so well cemented that nothing but iron tools could make an impression on it. We halted for a short time to examine this work, which had been built by the Tlascalans to defend their territory against the incursions of their Mexican enemies; and on Cortes ordering us to march on, saying, "Gentlemen follow your standard the holy cross, through which we shall conquer;" we all replied, "Forward in the name of God, in whom is our only confidence."

After passing this barrier some distance, our advanced guard descried about thirty of the Tlascalan troops, who had been sent to observe us. Cortes sent on the cavalry to endeavour to take some of these men prisoners, while the infantry advanced at a quick pace to support the advanced guard. Our cavalry immediately attacked, but the Tlascalans defended themselves bravely with their swords, wounding some of the horses severely, on which our people had to kill five of them, but were unable to make any prisoners. A body of three thousand warriors now sallied out upon us with great fury from an ambush, and began to discharge their arrows at our cavalry; but as our artillery and musquetry were now ready to bear upon them, we soon compelled them to give way, though in a regular manner, and fighting as they retreated, leaving seventeen of their men dead on the field; and one of our men was so severely wounded as to die a few days after. As the day was near a close, we did not attempt any pursuit; but continued our march, in which we soon descended from the hills into a flat country, thickly set with farm-houses, among fields of maize and the Maguay plant. We halted for the night on the banks of a brook, where we dressed our wounds with the *grease of a fat Indian* who was slain in the skirmish; and though the natives had carried away all their provisions, we caught their dogs when they returned

returned at night to the houses, and made a comfortable supper of that unusual fare. Next day, after recommending ourselves to God, we resumed our march against the Tlascallan army; both cavalry and infantry being duly instructed how to act when we came to battle; the cavalry to charge right through, and the infantry to preserve a firm array. We soon fell in with the enemy, to the number of about 6000 men in two bodies, who immediately attacked us with great spirit, discharging their arrows, shouting, and sounding their martial instruments. Cortes halted the army, and sent three prisoners to demand a peaceable conference, and to assure them we wished to treat them as brothers; ordering at the same time the notary Godoy, to witness this message officially. This message had no effect, as they attacked us more fiercely than before, on which Cortes gave the word, *St Jago, and on them.* We accordingly made a furious onset, slaying many with the first discharges of our artillery, three of their chiefs falling on this occasion. They now retreated to some uneven ground, where the whole army of the state of Tlascala, 40,000 in number, were posted under cover, commanded by *Xicotencatl*, the general in chief of the republic. As the cavalry could not act in this uneven ground, we were forced to fight our way through as well as we were able in a compact column, assailed on every side by the enemy, who were exceedingly expert archers. They were all clothed in white and red, with devices of the same colours, being the uniform of their general. Besides the multitudes who discharged continual flights of arrows, many of them who were armed with lances closed upon us while we were embarrassed by the inequality of the ground; but as soon as we got again into the plain, we made a good use of our cavalry and artillery. Yet they fought incessantly against us with astonishing intrepidity, closing upon us all around, so that we were in the utmost danger at every step, but God supported and assisted us. While closely environed in this manner, a number of their strongest warriors, armed with tremendous two-handed swords, made a combined attack on Pedro de Moron, an expert horseman, who was charging through them accompanied by other three of our cavalry. They seized his lance and wounded himself dangerously, and one of them cut through the neck of his horse with a blow of a two-handed sword, so that he fell down dead. We rescued Moron from the enemy with the utmost difficulty, even cutting the girths and bringing off his saddle, but

ten

ten of our number were wounded in the attempt, and I believe we then slew ten of their chiefs, while fighting hand to hand. They at length began to retire, taking with them the body of the horse, which they cut in pieces, and distributed through all the districts of Tlascala as a trophy of victory. Moron died soon after of his wounds, at least I have no remembrance of seeing him afterwards. After a severe and close conflict of above an hour, during which our artillery swept down multitudes out of the numerous and crowded bodies of the enemy, they drew off in a regular manner, leaving the field to us, who were too much fatigued to pursue. We took up our quarters, therefore, in the nearest village, named *Teoatzinco*, where we found numbers of subterraneous dwellings. This battle was fought on the 2d September 1519. The loss of the enemy on this occasion was very considerable, eight of their principal chiefs being slain, but how many others we know not, as whenever an Indian is wounded or slain, he is immediately carried off by his companions. Fifteen of them were made prisoners, of whom two were chiefs. On our side fifteen men were wounded, one only of whom died. As soon as we got clear of the enemy, we gave thanks to God for his merciful preservation, and took post in a strong and spacious temple, where we dressed our wounds with the fat of Indians. We obtained a plentiful supply of food from the fowls and dogs which we found in the houses of the village, and posted strong guards on every side for our security.

We continued quietly in the temple for one day, to repose after the fatigues of the battle, occupying ourselves in repairing our cross-bows, and making arrows. Next day Cortes sent out seven of our cavalry with two hundred infantry and all our allies, to scour the country, which is very flat and well adapted for the movements of cavalry, and this detachment brought in twenty prisoners, some of whom were women, without meeting with any injury from the enemy, neither did the Spaniards do any mischief; but our allies, being very cruel, made great havoc, and came back loaded with dogs and fowls. Immediately on our return, Cortes released all the prisoners, after giving them food and kind treatment, desiring them to expostulate with their companions on the madness of resisting our arms. He likewise released the two chiefs who had been taken in the preceding battle, with a letter in token of credence, desiring them to inform their countrymen that he only asked to pass through their country in his way to Mexico. These chiefs waited

waited accordingly on *Xicotencatl*, whose army was posted about two leagues from our quarters, at a place called *Tehuacinpacingo*, and delivered the message of Cortes. To this the Tlascalan general replied, "Tell them to go to Tlascala, where we shall give them peace by offering their hearts and blood to our gods, and by feasting on their bodies." After what we had already experienced of the number and valour of the enemy, this horrible answer did not afford us much consolation; but Cortes concealed his fears, and treated the messengers more kindly than ever, to induce them to carry a fresh message. By inquiry from them he got the following account of the number of the enemy and of the nature of the command enjoyed by its general. The army now opposed to us consisted of the troops or quotas of five great chiefs, each consisting of 10,000 men. These chiefs were *Xicotencatl* the elder, father to the general, *Maxicatzin*, *Chichimecatecle*, *Tecapaneca* cacique of *Topeyanco*, and a cacique named *Guaxocinga*[4]. Thus 50,000 men were now collected against us under the banner of Xicotencatl, which was a white bird like an ostrich with its wings spread out[5]. The other divisions had each its distinguishing banner, every cacique bearing these cognizances like our Spanish nobles, a circumstance we could not credit when so informed by our prisoners. This formidable intelligence did not tend to lessen the fears which the terrible answer of Xicotencatl had occasioned, and we prepared for the expected battle of the next day, by confessing our sins to our reverend fathers, who were occupied in this holy office during the whole night[6].

On the 5th of September, we marched out with our whole force, the wounded not excepted, having our colours flying and guarded by four soldiers appointed for that purpose. The crossbowmen and musketeers were ordered to fire alternately, so

4 In Clavigero, II. 31. Xicocentcatl Maxicatizin, is given as the name of one chief; and only *three* other lords or great caciques are said to have then borne sway in the Tlascalan republic, Tlekul, Xolotzin, and Citlalpocatzin. The person named Chichimecatecle by Diaz, is called Chichimeca Teuchtli by Clavigero: But it is impossible to reconcile the differences between these authors respecting the other names of the chiefs, nor is it important.—E.

5 Clavigero, II. 37. says the grand standard of the republic of Tlascala, used on this occasion, was a golden eagle with expanded wings.—E.

6 According to Clavigero, II. 37. Xicotencatl, to shew how little he regarded the Spaniards, sent them 300 turkeys and two hundred baskets of *tamalli*, to recruit their strength before the approaching battle.—E.

so that some of them might be always loaded: The soldiers carrying swords and bucklers were directed to use their points only, thrusting home through the bodies of the enemy, by which they were less exposed to missile weapons; and the cavalry were ordered to charge at half speed, levelling their lances at the eyes of the enemy, and charging clear through without halting to make thrusts. We had hardly marched half a quarter of a league, when we observed the whole army of the enemy, covering the plain on every side as far as the eye could reach, each separate body displaying its particular device or standard, and all advancing to the sound of martial music. A great deal might be said of this tremendous and long doubtful battle, in which four hundred of us were opposed to prodigious hosts, which surrounded us on every side, filling all the plains to the extent of two leagues. Their first discharges of arrows, stones, and double-headed darts covered the whole ground which we occupied, and they advanced continually till closed upon us all around, attacking us with the utmost resolution with lances and two-handed swords, encouraging each other by continual shouts. Our artillery, musketry, and cross-bows plied them with incessant discharges, and made prodigious havoc among the crowded masses of the enemy, and the home thrusts of our infantry with their swords, prevented them from closing up so near as they had done in the former battle. Yet with all our efforts, our battalion was at one time completely broken into and separated, and all the exertions of our general was for some time unable to get us again into order; at length, however, by the diligent use of our swords, we forced them from among us, and were able again to close our ranks. During the whole battle our cavalry produced admirable effects, by incessant charges through the thickest of the enemy. We in some measure owed our safety, under God, to the unwieldy multitude of the enemy, so that some of the divisions could never get up to the attack. One of the grand divisions, composed of the warriors dependant on *Guaxocinga*, was prevented from taking any share in the battle by *Chichemecatecle* [7], their commander, who had been provoked by some insulting language by Xicotencatl respecting his conduct in the preceding

[7] Called the son of Chichimeca Teuctli by Clavigero; perhaps his name was Guaxocingo, and Diaz, after a long interval of time, transposed the names of the father and son.—E.

ceding engagement, of which circumstance we received information afterwards. The circumstance of these divisions not joining in the battle, slackened the ardour of the rest, more especially after they had experienced the terrible effects of our cavalry, artillery, and other offensive weapons; and one of their greatest chiefs being killed, they at length drew off from the fight, and were pursued to a short distance by our cavalry. In this great battle, one only of our soldiers was killed, but seventy men and all our horses were wounded. I had two wounds, one by an arrow and the other by a stone, but they were not sufficient to make me unfit for duty. Thus again masters of the field, we gave thanks to God for his merciful preservation, and returned to our former post, first burying our dead companion in one of the subterraneous houses, which was filled up and levelled, that his body might not be discovered by the enemy. We passed the ensuing night in a most comfortless situation, not being able to procure even oil and salt, and exposed to excessive cold winds from the snowy mountains.

Cortes sent a fresh message by three of our prisoners and those who had carried his former message, demanding a free passage to Mexico, and threatening to destroy the whole country in case of refusal. On their arrival at Tlascala, they found the chiefs much cast down at their repeated losses, yet unwilling to listen to our proposals. They sent for their priests and wizards, who pretended to foretel future events by casting lots, desiring them to say if the Spaniards were vincible, and what were the best means of conquering us; likewise demanding whether we were men or superior beings, and what was our food. The wizards answered, that we were men like themselves, subsisting upon ordinary food, but did not devour the hearts of our enemies as had been reported; alleging that though invincible by day, we might be conquered at night, as we derived all our power from the influence of the sun. Giving credit to this response, Xicotencatl received orders to make an immediate attack on our quarters during the night. He marched accordingly with ten thousand warriors, and made a night attack on our post in three places at once: But our outposts kept too good guard to be taken by surprise, and we were under arms in a moment to receive them. They met with so warm a reception, that they were soon forced to turn their backs; and as it was clear moonlight, our cavalry pursued them with great effect, so that they

they returned to their camp heartily repenting of their night attack; insomuch that it was reported they sacrificed two of their priests for deceiving them to their hurt. In this action one only of our allies was killed, and two Spaniards wounded; but our situation was far from consolatory. Besides being dreadfully hard harassed by fatigue, we had lost fifty-five of our soldiers from wounds, sickness, and severity of the weather, and several were sick. Our general and Father Olmedo were both ill of fevers: And we began to think it would be impossible for us to reach Mexico, after the determined resistance we had experienced from the Tlascalans.

In this extremity several of the officers and soldiers, among whom I was one, waited on Cortes, and advised him to release his prisoners and to make a fresh offer of friendship with the Tlascalans through these people. He, who acted on all occasions like a good captain, never failing to consult with us on affairs of importance, agreed with our present advice, and gave orders accordingly. Donna Marina, whose noble spirit and excellent judgment supported her on all occasions of danger, was now of most essential service to us, as indeed she often was; as she explained in the most forcible terms to these messengers, that if their countrymen did not immediately enter into a treaty of peace with us, that we were resolved to march against their capital, and would utterly destroy it and their whole nation. Our messengers accordingly went to Tlascala, where they waited on the chiefs of the republic, the principal messenger bearing our letter in one hand, as a token of peace, and a dart in the other as a signal of war, as if giving them their choice of either. Having delivered our resolute message, it pleased God to incline the hearts of these Tlascalan rulers to enter into terms of accommodation with us. The two principal chiefs, named Maxicatzin and Xicotencatl the elder [8], immediately summoned the other chiefs of the republic to council, together with the cacique of Guaxocingo the ally of the republic, to whom they represented that all the attacks which they had made against us had been ineffectual, yet exceedingly destructive to them; that the strangers were hostile to their inveterate enemies the Mexicans, who had been

8 It has been already mentioned that Clavigero writes these two as the names of one man, Xicotencatl Maxicatzin, informing us that the latter name signifies *the elder*.—E.

been continually at war against their republic for upwards of an hundred years, and had so hemmed them in as to deprive them of procuring cotton or salt; and therefore that it would be highly conducive to the interests of the republic to enter into an alliance with these strangers against their common enemies, and to offer us the daughters of their principal families for wives, in order to strengthen and perpetuate the alliance between us. This proposal was unanimously agreed upon by the council, and notice was immediately sent to the general of this determination, with orders to cease from hostilities. Xicotencatl was much offended at this order, and insisted on making another nocturnal attack on our quarters. On learning this determination of their general, the council of Tlascala sent orders to supersede him in the command, but the captains and warriors of the army refused obedience to this order, and even prevented four of the principal chiefs of the republic from waiting upon us with an invitation to come to their city.

After waiting two days for the result of our message without receiving any return, we proposed to march to Zumpacingo, the chief town of the district in which we then were, the principal people of which had been summoned to attend at our quarters, but had neglected our message. We accordingly began our march for that place early of a morning, having Cortes at our head, who was not quite recovered from his late illness. The morning was so excessively cold, that two of our horses became so exceedingly ill that we expected them to have died, and we were all like to perish from the effects of the piercing winds of the *Sierra Nevada*, or Snowy Mountains. This occasioned us to accelerate our march to bring us into heat, and we arrived at Zumpacingo before day-break; but the inhabitants, immediately on getting notice of our approach, fled precipitately from their houses, exclaiming that the *teules* were coming to kill them. We halted in a place surrounded with walls till day, when some priests and old men came to us from the temples, making an apology for neglecting to obey our summons, as they had been prevented by the threats of their general Xicotencatl. Cortes ordered them to send us an immediate supply of provisions, with which they complied, and then sent them with a message to Tlascala, commanding the chiefs of the republic to attend him at this place to establish a peace, as we were still ignorant of what had taken place in consequence of our former

former message. The Indians of the country began to entertain a favourable opinion of us, and orders were given by the Tlascalan senate that the people in our neighbourhood should supply us plentifully with provisions.

At this time some of the soldiers resumed their mutinous complaints, particularly those who had good houses and plantations in Cuba, who murmured at the hardships they had undergone and the manifold dangers with which we were surrounded. Seven of their ringleaders now waited on Cortes, having a spokesman at their head, who addressed the general in a studied oration, representing, "That above fifty-five of our companions had already perished during the expedition, and we were now ignorant of the situation of those we had left at Villa Rica. That we were so surrounded by enemies, it was hardly possible to escape from being sacrificed to the idols of the barbarians, if we persisted in our present hopeless enterprize. Our situation, they said, was worse than beasts of burden, who had food and rest when forced to labour, while we were oppressed with fatigue, and could neither procure sleep or provisions. As therefore the country now seemed peaceable and the enemy had withdrawn, the present opportunity ought to be taken for returning immediately to Villa Rica, on purpose to construct a vessel to send for reinforcements from Cuba; adding, that they lamented the destruction of our shipping, a rash and imprudent step, which could not be paralleled in history." Cortes answered them with great mildness; "That he was satisfied no soldiers ever exhibited more valour than we, and that by perseverance alone could we hope to preserve our lives amidst those great perils which God hitherto delivered us from, and that he hoped for a continuance of the same mercy. He appealed to them to say if he had ever shrunk from sharing in all their dangers; which indeed he might well do, as he never spared himself on any occasion. As to the destruction of the ships, it was done advisably, and for most substantial reasons; and as the most illustrious of our countrymen had never ventured on so bold a measure, it was better to look forward with trust in God, than to repine at what could not now be remedied. That although the natives we had left behind were at present friendly, all would assuredly rise against us the moment we began to retreat; and if our situation were now bad, it would then be desperate. We were now in a plentiful country; and as for our losses by death and

fatigue

fatigue, such was the fortune of war, and we had not come to this country to enjoy sports and pastimes. I desire therefore of you, who are all gentlemen, that you no longer think of retreat, but that you henceforwards shew an example to the rest, by doing your duty like brave soldiers, which I have always found you hitherto." They still continued to urge the danger of persisting in the march to Mexico; but Cortes cut them short, saying, That it was better to die at once than live dishonoured: And being supported by all his friends, the malcontents were obliged to stifle their dissatisfaction, as we all exclaimed that nothing more should be said on the snbject.

Our deputation from Zumpacingo to Tlascala was at length successful; as after four repeated messages from the chiefs of the republic, their general Xicotencatl was obliged to cease hostilities. Accordingly forty Indians were sent by him to our quarters with a present of fowls, bread, and fruit. They also brought four old women in tattered clothes, some incense, and a quantity of parrots feathers. After offering incense to Cortes, one of the messengers addressed him as follows: "Our general sends these things to you. If ye are *teules*, as is reported, and desire human victims, take the hearts and blood of these women as food: We have not sacrificed them to you, as you have not hitherto made known your pleasure. If ye are men, we offer you fowls, bread, and fruit; if benignant *teules*, who do not desire human sacrifices, here are incense and parrots feathers." Cortes replied, That we were men like themselves, and never put any one to death except in our own defence: That he had repeatedly required them to make peace with us, which offer he now renewed, advising them no longer to continue their mad resistance, which must end in their own ruin and the destruction of their country: That our only object in coming among them, was to manifest the truths of our holy religion, and to put an end to human sacrifices, by command from God and our emperor. These men were spies, who had been sent by Xicotencatl to gain information of the strength and disposition of our quarters; and we were informed of this by our Chempoallan allies, who had learnt from the people of Zumpacingo that Xicotencatl intended to attack us. On this information, Cortes seized four of the messengers, whom he forced by threats to confess, that their general only waited for their report to attack us that night in our quarters. He then caused seventeen of the

the Tlascalan messengers to be arrested, cutting off the hands of some and the thumbs of others, and sent them back in that condition to Xicotencatl with a message, that he would wait his attack for two days, after which, if he heard nothing farther from him, he would march with his Spaniards to seek him in his post. On the return of his spies in a mutilated state, Xicotencatl, who was prepared to march against us, lost all his haughtiness and resolution, and we were informed that the chief with whom he had quarrelled, now quitted the army with his division.

The approach of a numerous train of Indians by the road from Tlascala was announced by one of our videts, from which we all conceived hopes of an embassy of peace, which it actually was. Cortes ordered us all immediately under arms, and on the arrival of the embassy, four old men advanced to our general, and after making three several reverences, touching the ground with their hands and kissing them, they offered incense, and said: That they were sent by the chiefs of Tlascala to put themselves henceforwards under our protection, and declared that they would on no account have made war upon us, if they had not believed we were allies of Montezuma, their ancient and inveterate enemy. They assured him that the first attack had been made upon us by the Otomies without their approbation, who believed they might easily have brought our small number as prisoners to their lords of Tlascala. They concluded by soliciting pardon for what had passed, assuring us that their general and the other chiefs of Tlascala would soon wait upon us to conclude a durable peace. Cortes in his answer, assumed a severe countenance, reproaching them for the violence they had been guilty of, yet, in consideration of their repentance, he accepted their presents, and was willing to receive them to favour, as he wished for peace; but desired them to inform their chiefs, if they delayed waiting upon him, he would continue his hostilities till he had ruined their whole country. The four ambassadors returned with this message to their employers, leaving their attendants with the provisions in our quarters. We now began to entertain hopes of their sincerity, to our great satisfaction, as we were heartily tired of the severe and hopeless war in which we had been so long engaged.

The news of the great victories which we had gained over the Tlascalans soon spread over the whole country, and came to

to the knowledge of Montezuma, who sent five principal nobles of his court to congratulate us on our success. These men brought a present of various articles of gold, to the value of 1000 crowns, with twenty loads of rich mantles, and a message, declaring his desire to become a vassal of our sovereign, to whom he was willing to pay an yearly tribute. He added a wish to see our general in Mexico, but, owing to the poverty of the country and the badness of the roads, he found himself under the necessity to deprive himself of that great pleasure. Cortes expressed his gratitude for the present, and his satisfaction at the offer of their sovereign to become tributary to our emperor; but requested the Mexican ambassadors to remain with him till he had concluded his arrangements with the Tlascalans, after which he would give them a definitive answer to the message of Montezuma. While conversing with the Mexican ambassadors, Xicotencatl, with fifty of his principal warriors all in unform habits of white and red, came to wait upon Cortes with great respect, who received them very courteously, causing the Tlascalan general to sit down beside him. Xicotencatl then said, That he came in the name of his father and the other chiefs of the Tlascalan nation, to solicit peace and friendship, to submit themselves to our sovereign, and to ask pardon for having taken up arms against us, which had proceeded from their dread of the machinations of Montezuma, who was always desirous of reducing their nation to slavery. Their country, he said, was very poor, as it possessed neither gold, jewels, cotton, nor salt; the two latter they were prevented from obtaining by Montezuma, who had also deprived them of all the gold their fathers had collected. Their poverty, therefore, must plead their excuse, for not bringing satisfactory presents. He made many other complaints against the oppressions of Montezuma, and concluded by earnestly soliciting our friendship and alliance. Xicotencatl was strong made, tall, and well proportioned, having a broad and somewhat wrinkled face, and grave aspect, appearing to be about thirty-five years old. Cortes treated him with every mark of respect, and expressed his high satisfaction that so brave and respectable a nation should become our allies, and subjects to our sovereign; but warned them seriously to beware of repeating the offences they had been guilty of towards us, lest it should occasion an exemplary punishment. The Tlascalan chief promised the utmost fidelity and obedience, and invited

vited us to come to their city; which Cortes promised to do as soon as he had concluded his business with the Mexican ambassadors, and Xicotencatl took his leave.

The ambassadors of Montezuma endeavoured to impress Cortes with distrust of the sincerity of the Tlascalans; asserting that their professions of peace and friendship were only meant to betray us, as they would certainly murder us while in their city. To these representations Cortes answered that he was resolved to go to Tlascala, that he might ascertain the sincerity of their professions; and that any such attempt as the Mexicans surmised would only bring on its own condign punishment. The ambassadors then requested Cortes to delay his march for six days, that they might receive fresh instructions from their sovereign, to which he acceded for two reasons, because of the state of his own health, and that the observations of the ambassadors seemed to require serious consideration. He now sent a messenger to Juan Escalente at Villa Rica, informing him of all that had happened, and requiring him to send some vessels of sacramental wine, and some consecrated bread, all that we had brought with us having been used. We at this time got the people of Zumpacingo to purify and white wash one of their temples, in which we erected a lofty cross. Our new friends the Tlascalans supplied us amply with provisions, particularly fowls and *tunas*, or Indian figs; and repeatedly invited us to their capital, but with this last we could not immediately comply, owing to the engagement with the Mexican ambassadors. At the end of the sixth day, as agreed upon, six nobles arrived from Montezuma, with a present of gold to the value of 3000 crowns, and 200 rich mantles; with a complimentary message, desiring us on no account to trust the Tlascalans or to go to their capital. Cortes returned thanks for the present, and the warning respecting the Tlascalans, whom he said he would severely punish if they attempted any treachery: and as he was just informed of the approach of the chiefs of Tlascala, he requested the Mexican ambassadors to wait three days for his final answer.

The ancient chiefs of Tlascala now arrived at our quarters, borne in litters or hammocks, and attended by a large train of followers. These were Maxicatzin, Xicotencatl the elder, who was blind, Guaxocinga, Chichimecatecle, and Tecapaneca the allied cacique of Topeyanco. After saluting Cortes with great respect, the old blind chief Xicotencatl addressed him

him to the following effect: "We have often sent to request pardon for our hostilities, which were caused by our suspicions that you were in alliance with our enemy Montezuma. Had we known who and what you were, we would have gone down to the coast to invite you from your ships, and would have swept the roads clean before you. All we can now do is to invite you to our city, where we shall serve you in every thing within our power; and we beg you may not listen to the misrepresentations of the Mexicans, who are our enemies, and are influenced by malice against us." Cortes returned thanks for their courtesy, saying that he would have visited them ere now, but wanted men to draw his cannons. On learning this, five hundred of the natives were assembled for this service in less than half an hour, and Cortes promised to visit their capital next day. We accordingly began our march early next morning, the Mexican ambassadors accompanying us at the desire of Cortes, and keeping always near his person that they might not be insulted by their Tlascalan enemies. From this time the natives always gave Cortes the name of Malintzin, signifying the lord or captain of Marina, because she always interpreted for him in their language. We entered the city of Tlascala on the 23d September 1519, thirty-four days after our arrival in the territories of the republic. As soon as we began our march, the chiefs went before to provide quarters for us; and on our approach to the city, they came out to meet us, accompanied by their daughters and other female relations: each tribe separately, as this nation consisted of four distinct tribes, besides that which was governed by the cacique of Topeyanco. These tribes were distinguished from each other by different uniforms, of cloth made of *nequen*, as cotton did not grow in their country. The priests came likewise to meet us, in long loose white garments, having their long hair all clotted with blood proceeding from recent cuts in the ears, and having remarkably long nails on their fingers; they carried pots of incense, with which they fumigated us. On our arrival, the chiefs saluted Cortes with much respect, and the people crowded to see us in such numbers that we could hardly make our way through the streets, presenting Cortes and the cavalry with garlands of beautiful and sweet smelling flowers.

We at length arrived at some large enclosed courts, in the apartments around which our lodgings were appointed; when

when the two principal chiefs took Cortes by the hand and conducted him into the apartment which was destined for his use. Every one of our soldiers were provided with a mat and bed-clothes made of *nequen* cloth. Our allies were lodged close by us, and the Mexican ambassadors were accommodated, by desire of Cortes, in the apartment next his own. Though we had every reason to confide in the Tlascalans, Cortes used the most rigid military precautions for our safety; which, being observed by the chiefs, they complained of as indicating suspicion of their sincerity; but Cortes assured them this was the uniform custom of our country, and that he had the most perfect reliance on their truth. As soon as an altar could be got ready, Cortes ordered Juan Diaz to celebrate the mass, as Olmeda was ill of a fever. Many of the native chiefs were present on this occasion, whom Cortes took along with him after the service into his own apartment, attended by those soldiers who usually accompanied him. The elder Xicotencatl then offered a present, consisting of a small quantity of gold and some pieces of cloth, not worth twenty crowns altogether, and expressed his fear that he might despise so paltry a present, which he excused on account of the poverty of their nation, occasioned by the extortions of Montezuma, from whom they were forced to purchase peace at the expence of every thing valuable belonging to them. Cortes assured them that he valued their gift, small as it was, more than he would a house full of gold from others, as it was a testimony of their friendship, which he greatly valued. Xicotencatl then proposed that a strict alliance should be formed between the two nations, and that our chiefs should accept their daughters in marriage, offering his own to Cortes, who thanked him for these marks of friendship. The chiefs remained with Cortes a whole day, and as Xicotencatl was blind, Cortes permitted him to examine his head, face, and beard with his hands, which he did with much attention.

Next day the chiefs brought five daughters of their principal caciques, who were much handsomer than the other women of the country, each attended by a female slave. On this occasion Xicotencatl presented his own daughter to Cortes, and desired him to assign the others among his principal officers. Cortes thanked him for the mark of regard, but that for the present the ladies must remain with their parents, as we must first obey the commands of our God, and the orders

orders of our sovereign, by abolishing human sacrifices and other abominations, and by teaching them the true faith in the adoration of one only God. He then shewed them a beautiful image of the holy Mary, the queen of heaven, the mother of our Lord by the power of the Holy Ghost, conceived without sin, adding, That if they wished to become our brethren, and that we should marry their daughters, they must renounce their idolatry, and worship our God, by which they would not only benefit their temporal concerns, but would secure an eternal happiness in heaven; whereas by persisting in the worship of their idols, which were representations of the devils, they would consign themselves to hell, where they would be plunged eternally into flames of fire. This and a great deal more excellently to the purpose, being well explained to them by our interpreters, the chiefs made answer to the following effect: That they readily believed all they had now heard respecting the excellence of our God and his saints, and might in time be able to understand the subject of his exhortations; but that if they were now to renounce the religion of their ancestors in their old age to please us, the priests and people would rebel against them; more especially as the priests had already consulted their gods, who had commanded them on no account to omit the human sacrifices and other ancient customs, as otherwise they would send famine, pestilence, and war into their country: They requested, therefore that nothing more might be said on this subject, as they could not renounce their gods but with their lives. When the subject of this conference was reported to father Olmedo, who was a wise and good man, he advised the general not to urge the matter any farther for the present, as he was adverse to forced conversions, such as had been already attempted at Chempoalla; and that to destroy the idols were a needless act of violence, unless the principles of idolatry were eradicated from their minds by argument, as they would easily procure other idols to continue their worship. Three of our cavaliers, Alvarado, de Leon, and De Lugo, gave a similar advice to Cortes, and the subject was judiciously dropped, which might have again excited the Tlascalans to inveterate enmity.

Soon after this we got permission to clear out and purify one of the temples, which was converted into a Christian church, and had an altar and cross erected. Here the ladies who were destined to be the brides of our officers, having been

been instructed in the principles of the Christian religion were baptized. The daughter of Xicotencatl was named Donna Luisa, and being taken by the hand by Cortes, was presented by him to Alvarado, saying to her father that this officer was his brother, with which arrangement the old cacique seemed perfectly satisfied. Almost the whole province of Tlascala came afterwards to depend upon this lady, paying rent and homage to her. She had a son by Alvarado named Don Pedro, and a daughter Donna Leonora, who inherited her mothers domains, and is now the wife of Don Francisco de la Cueva, cousin to the Duke of Albuquerque, by whom she has four or five sons. In right of his wife Donna Luisa, Alvarado became lord, and almost sovereign of Tlascala. As far as I can remember, the niece, or daughter of Maxicatzin, named Donna Leonora, and remarkably handsome, was given to Velasquez de Leon. I have forgotten the names of the other ladies, all stiled Donnas, but they were assigned to De Oli, Sandoval, and Avila. After the ceremonies were concluded, the natives were informed that the crosses were erected in order to expel the evil spirits which they had been in use to worship.

Cortes obtained considerable information from the two principal chiefs of Tlascala, Xicotencatl, and Maxicatzin, relative to the military and political state of Mexico. They said that Montezuma had an army of an hundred thousand warriors, occupying all the cities of the neighbouring states, which were subject to his dominions, with strong garrisons, and forcing them to pay heavy tributes in gold, manufactures, productions of the soil, and victims for sacrifice, so that his wealth and power were exceedingly great; but that all the districts which were under subjection to him were exceedingly dissatisfied with his tyranny, and inclined to take part with his enemies. Their own state of Tlascala had been in almost continual wars with the Mexicans for above an hundred years, and formed a league for mutual defence with the people of Guaxocingo [9]; but were principally vexed by inroads from the Mexican garrison in Cholula, from which city the troops of Montezuma were able to come by surprise on the Tlascalan territories. They described the city of Mexico as of great strength, being built in the lake, and only accessible

9 This place, so often mentioned by Diaz, seems to be the same called Huexotzinco by Clavigero.—E.

accessible by narrow causeways, with wooden bridges, and having no access to most of its houses but by drawbridges or boats. They described the arms of the Mexicans as consisting of double-headed darts, which were projected by a kind of slings, lances having stone heads, an ell in length, and both edges as sharp as a razor, and two-handed swords, edged likewise with sharp stones, besides shields and other defensive armour. The chiefs shewed large *nequen* cloths, on which their various battles were represented, with all those different kinds of weapons. They alleged that their country was anciently inhabited by a people of great stature and very barbarous manners, who had been extirpated by their ancestors, and produced a thigh-bone which they said had belonged to one of these giants. I stood by it, and it equalled my height, though I am as tall as most men. We sent this bone to Spain for the inspection of his majesty. The chiefs told us that their idols had long ago predicted, that a people was to arrive from the distant lands where the sun rises, and to subdue their country, and they believed we were those to whom the prediction applied. Cortes said that this was certainly the case, and that our great emperor had sent us to establish a lasting friendship between our nation and them, and to be the instruments of shewing them the only way of Salvation: To which we all said Amen!

While we were in Tlascala a volcano near Guaxocingo threw out great quantities of flames, and Diego de Ordas went up to examine it, attended by two Spanish soldiers, and some of the principal Indians. The natives declined going any nearer to the volcano than the temples of *Popocatepeque*, but De Ordas and his two Spanish comrades ascended to the summit of the mountain, and looked down into the crater, which is a circle of near a quarter of a league diameter. From this peak also, they had a distant view of the city of Mexico, which was twelve or thirteen leagues from the mountain. This was considered as a great feat, and De Ordas, on his return to Spain, got royal authority to bear this volcano in his arms, which is now borne by his nephew who dwells in La Puebla. This volcano did not throw out flames for a good many years afterwards, but it flamed with great violence in 1530. We observed many wooden cages in the city of Tlascala, in which the victims intended for sacrifice were confined and fattened; but we destroyed all these, releasing the unhappy prisoners, who remained along with us, as

they dared not to return to their own homes. Cortes spoke very angrily to the Tlascalan chiefs, exhorting them to abolish this horrible custom of human sacrifices, and they promised amendment; but immediately, on our backs being turned, they resumed their ancient abominations.

Section VII.

Events during the March of the Spaniards from Tlascala to Mexico.

After a stay of seventeen days in Tlascala to refresh ourselves after our late severe fatigues, and for the recovery of our wounded companions, it was resolved to resume our march to the city of Mexico, though the rich settlers of Cuba still endeavoured to persuade Cortes to return to Villa Rica. This resolution also gave much uneasiness to our new Tlascalan allies, who used every argument to make us distrust the courteous manners of Montezuma and his subjects, whom they alleged to be extremely treacherous, and would either fall upon and destroy us on the first favourable opportunity, or would reduce us to slavery. In the event of hostilities between us and the Mexicans, they exhorted us to kill them all young and old. Cortes thanked them for their friendly counsel, and offered to negociate a treaty of peace and amity between them and the Mexicans; but they would by no means consent to this measure, saying that the Mexican government would employ peace only as a cover for treachery. On making inquiry as to the best road to Mexico, the ambassadors of Montezuma recommended that by Cholula, in which we should find good accommodation; but the Tlascalans earnestly entreated us to go by Huexotzinco which was in alliance with them, representing the Cholulans as a perfidious people. But Cortes determined to take the road of Cholula, intending to remain in that city till he could secure a safe and peaceable reception at Mexico; he sent therefore a message to the chiefs of Cholula, to inform them of his intentions, and to express his dissatisfaction at their conduct in not having been to wait upon him. While engaged in preparations for our departure, four of the principal nobles of Mexico arrived with a rich present, consisting of gold to the value of 10,000 crowns, and ten bales of mantles

mantles of the finest feather-work. After saluting Cortes with profound respect, they said that Montezuma was astonished at our long residence among so poor and base a people as the Tlascalans, and that he requested we would come without delay to his capital. Cortes assured them that he would very soon pay his respects to their sovereign, and requested they would remain along with him during the march. He also at this time appointed Pedro de Alvarado, and Vasquez de Tupia, to go as his ambassadors to Montezuma, with instructions to examine the city of Mexico. These gentlemen set out accordingly, along with the former Mexican ambassadors, but were soon recalled, in consequence of a remonstrance from the army. At this time I was confined by my wounds, and was ill of a fever, and consequently incapable of attending minutely to all that passed.

In return to our message, the chiefs of Cholula sent a very dry and uncourteous answer by four men of low degree, and without any present. As this was obviously done in contempt, Cortes sent the messengers back to inform the chiefs, that he would consider them as rebels if they did not wait upon him personally in three days; but, if they complied with this requisition, he was willing to accept them as friends and brothers, and had much intelligence of great importance to communicate to them. They sent back, saying, that they durst not come into the country of their inveterate enemies the Tlascalans, who they were sure had grossly misrepresented both them and Montezuma to us, but engaged to give us an honourable reception in their city. When the Tlascalans found we were determined upon taking the road of Cholula, contrary to their advice, they proposed that we should take 10,000 of their best warriors along with us; but our general considered this number as too many for a visit of peace, and would only accept 2000, who were immediately made ready to attend us. Using every proper precaution for our safety, we began our march from Tlascala, and arrived that evening at a river about a league from Cholula, where there is now a stone bridge, and encamped here for the night. Some of the chiefs came to congratulate our arrival in their neighbourhood, and gave us a courteous invitation to visit their city. We continued our march next day, and were met near the city by the chiefs and priests, all dressed in cassocks of cotton cloth, resembling those used by the Zapotecans. After presenting incense to Cortes, the chiefs made an apology for not

not waiting upon him at Tlascala, and requested that so large a body of their enemies might not be permitted to enter their city. As this request appeared reasonable, Cortes sent Alvarado and De Oli, to desire our allies to hut themselves without the city, which they did accordingly, imitating the military discipline of the Spaniards, in the arrangement of their camp and the appointment of centinels. Before entering the city, Cortes explained the purpose of his mission in a long oration, in the same manner as he had already done at all the other places during the march. To all this they answered that they were ready to yield obedience to our sovereign in all things, but could not abandon the religion of their ancestors. We then marched on in our usual compact order, attended only by our allies from Chempoalla, and the Indians who drew our artillery, and conveyed our baggage, and entered the city, all the streets and terraces of which was filled with an immense concourse of people, through whom we were conducted to our appointed quarters, in some large apartments, which conveniently accommodated our army and all our attendants.

While we remained in this place, a plot was concerted by the Mexican ambassadors for the introduction of 20,000 warriors belonging to Montezuma, who were to attack us in conjunction with the people of Cholula; and several houses were actually filled with poles and leather collars, by means of which we were to have been bound and carried prisoners to Mexico. But God was pleased that we should discover and confound their machinations. During the first two days, we were perfectly well entertained; but on the third no provisions were sent us, and none of the chiefs or priests appeared at our quarters. Such few of the inhabitants as we happened to see, speedily withdrew with a malicious sneer; and on Cortes applying to the Mexican ambassadors to procure provisions for us as usual, some wood and water only were brought to us by a few old men, as if in derision, who said that no maize could be procured. This day, likewise, some ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, who desired in very disrespectful terms on no account to approach Mexico, and demanded an immediate answer. Cortes gave them a mild answer, expressing his astonishment at the alteration in the tone of their sovereign, but requested a short delay before giving his definitive answer to their message. He then summoned us together, and desired us to keep on the alert

alert, as he suspected some great act of treachery was in agitation against us. As the chiefs of Cholula had refused to wait upon him, Cortes sent some soldiers to a great temple close to our quarters, with orders to bring two of the priests to him as quietly as possible. They succeeded in this without difficulty; and, having made a trifling present to the priests, he inquired as to the reason of the late extraordinary conduct of the Cholulan chiefs. One of these who was of high rank, having authority over all the temples and priests of the city, like one of our bishops, told Cortes that he would persuade some of the chiefs to attend him, if allowed to speak with them; and, being permitted to go away for that purpose, he soon brought several of the chiefs to our quarters. Cortes reproved them sharply for the change in their behaviour to us, and commanded them to send an immediate supply of provisions, and likewise to provide him next day with a competent number of people to convey our baggage and artillery, as he meant then to resume his march to Mexico. The chiefs appeared quite confounded and panic struck, yet promised to send in provisions immediately, alleging in excuse for their conduct, that they had been so ordered by Montezuma, who was unwilling that we should advance any farther into his dominions.

At this time, three of our Chempoallan allies called Cortes aside, and told him that they had discovered several pitfals close to our quarters, covered over with wood and earth, and that on examining one of these they found its bottom provided with sharpened stakes. They informed him also that all the terraces of the houses near our quarters had been recently provided with parapets of sod, and great quantities of stones collected on them, and that a strong barricade of timber had been erected across one of the streets. Eight Tlascalans arrived also from their army on the outside of the town, who warned Cortes that an attack was intended against us, as the priests of Cholula had sacrificed eight victims on the preceding night to their god of war, five of whom were children; and that they had seen crowds of women and children withdrawing from the city with their valuable effects, all of which were sure signs of some impending commotion. Cortes thanked the Tlascalans for this instance of their fidelity, and sent them back to the camp with orders to their chiefs to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency. He then returned to the chiefs and priests, to whom he repeated his former

former orders, warning them not to deviate from their obedience, on pain of instant condign punishment, commanding them at the same time to prepare 2000 of their best warriors to accompany him next day on his march to Mexico. The chiefs readily promised to obey all his commands, thinking in this manner to facilitate their projected treachery, and took their leave. Cortes then employed Donna Marina to bring back the two priests who had been with him before, from whom he learnt, that Montezuma had been lately very unsettled in his intentions towards us, sometimes giving orders to receive us honourably, and at other times commanding that we should not be allowed to pass. That he had lately consulted his gods, who had revealed that we were all to be put to death, or made prisoners in Cholula; to facilitate which he had sent 20,000 of his troops to that place, half of whom were now in the city, and the rest concealed at the distance of a league. They added, that the plan of attack was all settled, and that twenty of our number were to be sacrificed in the temples of Cholula, and all the rest to be conveyed prisoners to Mexico. Cortes rewarded them liberally for their intelligence, and enjoined them to preserve the strictest secrecy on the subject, commanding them to bring all the chiefs to his quarters at an appointed time. He then convened a council of all the officers, and such soldiers as he most confided in, before whom he laid an account of the information which he had received, desiring their advice as to the best conduct to be pursued in the present alarming emergency. Some proposed to return immediately to Tlascala, and others proposed various measures, but it was the universal opinion that the treachery of the Cholulans required to be severely punished, as a warning to other places. It was accordingly resolved to inflict condign punishment on the Cholulans within the courts where we were quartered, which were surrounded by high walls, but in the meantime, to continue our preparations for resuming the march, in order to conceal our intentions. We then informed the Mexican ambassadors, that we had discovered the treacherous intentions of the Cholulans, who pretended that they acted by orders of Montezuma, which we were convinced was a false aspersion. They solemnly declared their ignorance of these transactions; but Cortes ordered them to have no farther intercourse with the inhabitants of the city, and sent them to his own quarters under a strong guard

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for the night, during the whole of which we lay upon our arms, ready to act at a moments warning.

During this anxious night, the wife of one of the caciques, who had taken a great liking to Donna Marina, came secretly to visit that lady, informing her of the plot, invited her to take refuge in her house from the danger which was about to overwhelm us, and proposed to give her for a husband the brother of a boy who was along with her. Donna Marina, with her usual presence of mind, agreed to every thing proposed with a profusion of thanks, and said she only wanted some one to take charge of her effects before leaving the Spanish quarters. In course of this conversation, Marina acquired particular information of every part of this mysterious affair, which the old woman told her had been communicated to her three days before by her husband, who was chief of one of the divisions of the city, and was now with his warriors, giving directions for their co-operation with the Mexican troops, and who had lately received a gold drum from Mexico, as an ensign of command. Donna Marina desired the old woman and her son to remain in her apartment till she went in search of her valuables; but went immediately to Cortes, to whom she communicated all the information she had received, adding that her informer was still in her apartment. Cortes immediately sent for the old woman, who being confronted by Donna Marina, repeated every thing exactly as before, which agreed in all respects with the information he had already received from others.

When day appeared, the hurry of the chiefs, priests and people in coming to our quarters as appointed, and their apparent satisfaction, was as great as if we had been already secured in their cages. They brought a much greater number of warriors to attend us than had been required, insomuch that the large courts in which we were quartered were unable to contain them. We were all prepared for the event, having a strong guard of soldiers posted at the gate of the great court, to prevent any one from escaping. Cortes mounted on horseback, attended by a strong guard; and as he saw the people crowding in at the gate, he said to us, "See how anxious these traitors are to feast on our flesh! But God will disappoint their hopes." He ordered the two priests who had given him the information to retire to their houses that they might escape the intended slaughter. Every one being arrived in the great court, he commanded the

the chiefs and priests to draw near, to whom he made a calm remonstrance on the treachery of their conduct towards us, which was explained by Donna Marina. He asked them why they had plotted to destroy us, and what we had done to deserve their enmity, except exhorting them to abandon their barbarous and abominable customs, and endeavouring to instruct them in our holy religion? Their evil intentions, he said, had been obvious, by withdrawing their women and children from the city, and by insultingly sending us only wood and water, when we required provisions. He said he was perfectly acquainted with the ambush which was placed in the road by which we meant to march, and with all the other contrivances they had made for our destruction; and that in recompence of our proffered friendship, and of all the holy services we intended them, he knew that they meant to kill and eat us, and that the pots were already on the fire, prepared with salt, pepper, and *tomatas*, in which our dissevered limbs were to be boiled. He knew that they had doomed twenty of us to be sacrificed to their idols, to whom they had already immolated seven of their own brethren. "Since you were determined to attack us," said he in conclusion, "it had been more manly to have done so openly like the Tlascalans, and not to have resorted to mean and cowardly treachery. But be assured that the victory which your false gods have promised is beyond their power, and the punishment of your treason is now ready to burst on your guilty heads."

The astonished chiefs confessed every thing which was laid to their charge, but endeavoured to excuse themselves, by laying the whole blame on the orders they had received from Montezuma. "Wretches," said Cortes, "this falsehood is an aggravation of your offence, and such complicated crimes can never be permitted to pass unpunished." He then ordered a musket to be fired, as a signal to commence the slaughter, for which we all stood prepared. We immediately fell furiously on the multitudes who were inclosed within the walls of our quarters, and executed their merited punishment in such a manner as will be long remembered by the remaining natives of Cholula. A vast number of them were put to death on the spot, and many of them were afterwards burned alive. In less than two hours, our Tlascalan allies arrived in the city, having been previously instructed in our plan, and made a terrible slaughter in the streets of the city; and when

when the Cholulans ceased to make resistance, they ravaged the city, plundering it of every thing valuable they could lay hold of, and making slaves of all the inhabitants who fell in their way. On the day following, when intelligence reached Tlascala of the transactions at Cholula, great numbers crowded to the devoted city, which they plundered without mercy. It now became necessary to restrain the fury of the Tlascalans, and Cortes gave orders to their chiefs to withdraw their troops from the city, with which they immediately complied.

Quiet being in some measure restored, some chiefs and priests who presided over a distant quarter of the city, which they pretended had not been engaged in the conspiracy, waited in an humble manner on Cortes, and prayed a remission of the punishment which had already fallen so heavily on their townsmen. The two before mentioned priests, and the old woman from whom Donna Marina had procured such material information, came forward likewise, and joined in the same petition, and Cortes determined to shew clemency to the rest of the city, yet seemed still in great rage. He called the Mexican ambassadors into his presence, in whose presence he declared that the whole inhabitants of the city and dependancy of Cholula had richly merited to be utterly extirpated for their treachery; but that out of respect to the great Montezuma, whose vassals they were, he consented to pardon them. He then ordered the Tlascalans to liberate their prisoners, which they in some measure complied with, setting free many of those they intended to have reduced to slavery, yet retained a prodigious booty in gold, mantles, cotton, and salt. Having proclaimed an amnesty to the Cholulans, he reconciled them and the Tlascalans who had anciently been confederates; and being desired to appoint a new chief cacique of Cholula, in place of the former who had been put to death, Cortes inquired to whom that dignity belonged of right, and being informed that the brother of the late head cacique ought to succeed according to their laws, he nominated him to the office. As soon as the inhabitants had returned to their houses, and order was restored in the city, Cortes summoned all the chiefs and priests to a conference, in which he explained to them the principles of our holy religion, earnestly exhorting them to renounce their idolatry, and the odious practices connected with it; and, as an instance of the uselessness of their idols, he reminded them how much they had been lately deceived by the false respon-

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ses imposed upon them in their names: He proposed to them therefore, to destroy their senseless idols, and to erect an altar and cross in their stead. The latter was immediately complied with, but Father Olmedo advised him to postpone the former to a more favourable opportunity, from a due consideration of our uncertain and perilous situation.

Cholula was then a large and populous city, much resembling Valladolid, situated on a fertile plain which was thickly inhabited, and all its surrounding district was well cultivated with maize, maguey, and pepper. There were above a hundred lofty white towers in the city, belonging to different idol temples, one of which was held in very high estimation, that principal temple being more lofty even than the great temple of Mexico. An excellent manufacture of earthen ware was carried on at this place, the various articles of which were curiously painted in different patterns, in red, black, and white, and from which the city of Mexico and all the surrounding countries were supplied, as Castile is from Talavera and Placencia. In the numerous temples of this city there were many cages, which were filled with men and boys, fattening up for sacrifice, all of which Cortes caused to be destroyed, sending the miserable captives home to their respective houses. He likewise gave positive orders to the priests to desist in future from this most abominable custom, which they promised to refrain from, but they forgot their promises as soon as the authority of our irresistible arms was removed.

On hearing the melancholy fate of their companions in Cholula, the Mexican troops who were posted in ambush, with trenches and barricades to oppose our cavalry, made a precipitate retreat to Mexico, whether they carried an account to Montezuma of the failure of his plot for our destruction; but he had already heard the news of his misfortunes from two of his ambassadors, whom Cortes had dismissed for the purpose. It was reported that he immediately ordered a solemn sacrifice to his gods, and shut himself up for two days with ten of his chief priests, engaged in rigid devotional exercises, on purpose to obtain a response from his gods respecting his future destiny; and we afterwards learnt that the priests advised him, as from their gods, to send an embassy to exculpate himself from having any connection with what had passed in Cholula, and to inveigle us into Mexico; where, by cutting off the supply of water,

or

or by raising the bridges on the causeways, he might easily destroy us, or detain us in slavery to breed people like ourselves for his service.

Having remained fourteen days in Cholula, Cortes consulted in regard to our future operations with a council of those officers and soldiers who were most sincerely attached to his person, as indeed he never engaged in any matter of importance without taking our advice. In this consultation, it was determined to send a respectful message to Montezuma, informing him that we were on our way to pay our respects to him by the orders of our own sovereign. Our messenger was likewise desired to relate the whole late events which had occurred at Cholula, where the treachery which had been concerted against us had come to our knowledge, from which nothing could be concealed which concerned our welfare, and that we had desisted from punishing the people of that city to the full extent which they deserved, entirely out of respect to him, whose vassals they were. That the chiefs and priests had given out that all they had done or intended to do was by his orders; but we could not possibly believe that so great a monarch, after the many marks of friendship with which he had honoured us, could be guilty of such infamous proceedings; being convinced, if he had meditated hostility, he would have met us honourably in the field of battle: But at the same time to assure him, that day or night, field or town, fair battle or villainous stratagem, were all the same for us, as we were always prepared for every emergency. Montezuma had become exceedingly thoughtful and alarmed on account of the failure of the plot in Cholula, and now sent an embassy of six of his chief nobles to wait on Cortes, with a present to the value of 2000 crowns in gold, and several bales of fine mantles. The ambassadors saluted Cortes with profound respect, and delivered a message in which Montezuma endeavoured to exculpate himself from any concern in the affair of Cholula, and in conclusion, invited the general to his court. Cortes treated these ambassadors with his usual politeness, and retaining three of them to serve as guides on our march to Mexico, he sent on the others to inform Montezuma that we were on our way to his capital. When the Tlascalan chiefs understood our determination to proceed, they renewed their former warnings to beware of treachery from the Mexicans, and again offered to send 10,000 of their warriors along with us. But Cortes, after

after thanking them for their friendly solicitude and proffered aid, remarked, as he had done before, that so large a body of troops was incompatible with an amicable visit, but requested they would furnish 1000 men for our baggage and artillery, which they immediately provided. Our faithful Chempoalan allies, being afraid of the resentment of the Mexicans for their revolt, begged permission to return to their district, and Cortes dismissed them with a handsome present, sending letters by them to Escalente at Villa Rica, containing an account of our proceedings.

We marched from Cholula in our usual compact order, prepared for whatsoever might befal, sending out patroles of our cavalry by threes in front, supported by a detachment of light infantry as an advanced guard. On our arrival at a small village called Izcalpan, in the district of Huexotzinco, about four leagues from Cholula, we were met by the chiefs bearing provisions, and a small present of gold. They requested our general to consider only the good will of the givers, not the worthlessness of the gift, as they were very poor; and, while they endeavoured to dissuade him from attempting to proceed to Mexico, they also informed him, that, on ascending the next mountain, he would find two roads, the one of which leading by Chalco was broad and open, while the other leading by Tlalmanalco, though originally equally convenient, had been recently stopped up and obstructed by means of trees felled across it to render it difficult, though it was in reality shorter and more secure than that of Chalco, on which road the Mexicans had placed a large party of troops in ambush among some rocks, for the purpose of attacking us by surprise on the march. They advised us therefore, if we were determined to persevere, to choose the obstructed road, and offered to send a number of their people to clear it for us. Cortes thanked them for their good advice, of which he would avail himself by the blessing of GOD. Having halted for the night at Izcalpan, we resumed our march early the next morning, and reached the summit of a mountainous ridge about noon, where we found the two roads exactly as they had been described to us. We halted here in order to deliberate on our procedure, when Cortes called the Mexican ambassadors to explain the meaning of the felled trees. Pretending ignorance on this subject, they advised him to take the road of Chalco, where they said he would be well received. Cortes chose however to

take the other road, and sent on our Indian allies to clear the way before us. As we ascended the mountain, the weather became piercingly cold, and we even had a considerable fall of snow, which covered the whole country round about. We at length arrived at certain houses which had been built on the very top of the mountain for the accommodation of travellers, where we found an abundant supply of provisions, and having placed proper guards, we halted here for the night. We resumed our march next morning, and arrived by the hour of high mass at the town of Halmanalco, where we were hospitably received. The people of the neighbouring districts of Chalco, Amaquemecan, and Ajotzinco, where the canoes are kept, waited on Cortes at this place with a present of about 150 crowns in gold, some mantles, and eight women. Cortes received them affably, and promised them his friendship and protection; explaining to them, as on former occasions, the doctrines of our holy faith, exhorting them to abandon their idolatry and barbarous immolation of human victims, informing them that he was sent among them by a powerful monarch to redress wrongs, and to lead them in the way of eternal salvation. On this the people began to make loud complaints of the tyranny of Montezuma, who deprived them of their wives and daughters if handsome, forcing the men to work like slaves in the conveyance of stones, timber, and corn, and appropriating their lands to the service of his temples. Cortes gave them kind assurances of speedy redress, but recommended to them to be patient yet a little while.

Just as we were going to set out from Tlalmanalco, four of the principal nobles of the court of Mexico arrived with presents from Montezuma, and having made their customary obeisance, they addressed Cortes in the following manner: "*Malinatzin!* our sovereign sent this present to you, and desires us to say, that he is grieved you should take so much trouble in coming from a distant country to visit him. He has already made you be informed that he will give you much gold, silver, and *chalchihuis* for your *teules*, if you will give up your intention of coming to Mexico. We now repeat this request in his name, that you will return; and he will send after you a great treasure in gold, silver, and jewels for your king, with four loads of gold for yourself, and a load for each of your brethren. It is impossible for you to proceed to Mexico, as the whole Mexican warriors are in arms to op-

pose you; besides which you will find the roads bad, and will be unable to procure provisions." Embracing the ambassadors with much politeness, and having returned thanks for their present, Cortes expressed his astonishment at the changeableness of Montezuma, who thus alternately invited and deprecated his presence. He begged them to thank Montezuma for the splendid offers he had made of treasure to the emperor, himself, and his soldiers; but it was quite impossible for him to turn back, especially when so near the capital, as his orders from his own sovereign were to pay his respects to theirs in person; it was quite useless, therefore, to send him any more such messages, for he was resolved to proceed; and if Montezuma should desire his departure after having seen him, he would be ready at his command to return to his own country.

Having thus dismissed the ambassadors, we continued our march, and as our allies had informed us that Montezuma intended to put us all to death, after our entry into his city, we were filled with melancholy reflections on our hazardous situation; recommending our souls therefore to the LORD JESUS CHRIST, who had already brought us in safety through so many imminent dangers, and resolving to sell our lives at a dear rate, we proceeded on our march. We halted at a town named Iztapalapan, one half of the houses of which were built in the water, and the rest on dry land, and took up our quarters there for the night. While preparing early next morning to recommence our march, information was brought by a sentinel that a great number of Mexicans in rich dresses were on the road towards our quarters, on which Cortes again dismissed us. Four principal nobles of Mexico now presented themselves with profound respect before our general, whom they informed that Cacamatzin, lord of Tezcuco, and nephew to the great Montezuma was approaching, and begged that he would remain in his present situation to receive him. Cacamatzin soon followed in vast pomp, borne in a magnificent litter, adorned with jewels and plumes of green feathers, set in branched pillars of gold. His litter was carried by eight nobles, who assisted him to alight, and then swept the way before him as he came up to Cortes. Our general embraced the prince, and made him a present of three of the jewels named *margajitas*, which are figured with various colours. The only purpose of this visit seemed to have been complimentary, as he addressed Cortes in these

words:

words: "I, and these lords, have come by order of the great Montezuma, to conduct you to your residence in our city." We then set forwards in our usual array for Mexico, the road being crowded on both sides with innumerable multitudes of natives, and soon arrived at the causeway of Iztapalapan, one of those which leads to the capital.

When we contemplated the number of populous towns so closely situated in regard to each other, some on the water, and others on the firm ground, we could not help comparing this wonderful country to the enchanted scenes we read of in Amadis de Gaul, so magnificent were the towers and temples and other superb edifices of stone and lime, which seemed everywhere to rise out of the water. Many of us were disposed to doubt the reality of the scene before us, and to suspect we were in a dream; and my readers must excuse the manner of my expressions, as never had any one seen, heard, or even dreamt of any thing which could compare to the magnificence of the scene we now beheld. On approaching Iztapalapan, we were received by several of the highest nobles of the Mexican empire, relations of Montezuma, who conducted us to the lodgings appointed for us in that place, which were magnificent palaces of stone, the timber work of which were cedar, having spacious courts and large halls, furnished with canopies of the finest cotton. After contemplating the magnificence of the buildings, we walked through splendid gardens, containing numerous alleys planted with a variety of fruit trees, and filled with roses, and a vast variety of beautiful and aromatic flowers. In these gardens there was a fine sheet of clear water, communicating with the great lake of Mexico by a canal, which was of sufficient dimensions to admit the largest canoes. The apartments of the palace were everywhere ornamented with works of art, admirably painted, and the walls were beautifully plastered and whitened; the whole being rendered delightful by containing great numbers of beautiful birds. When I beheld the delicious scenery around me, I thought we had been transported by magic to the terrestrial paradise. But this place is now destroyed, and a great deal of what was then a beautiful expanse of water, is now converted into fields of maize, and all is so entirely altered that the natives themselves would hardly know the place where Iztapalapan stood.

SECTION VIII.

Arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, Description of that Court and City, and Transactions there, till the Arrival of Narvaez on the coast to supersede Cortes, by order of Velasquez.

NEXT day, being the 8th of November 1519, we set out on our way into the city of Mexico along the grand causeway, which is eight yards wide, and reaches in a straight line all the way from the firm land to the city of Mexico, both sides of the causeway being everywhere crowded with spectators, as were all the towers, temples, and terraces in every part of our progress, eager to behold such men and animals as had never been seen in that part of the world. A very different sentiment from curiosity employed our minds, though every thing we saw around us was calculated to excite and gratify that passion in the highest degree. Our little army did not exceed four hundred and fifty men, and we had been told at every step of our march, that we were to be put to death on our arrival in the city into which we were now about to enter. That city was everywhere surrounded by water, and approachable only by long moles or causeways interrupted in many places by cross cuts, which were only to be passed by means of bridges, the destruction or removal of any of which would effectually prevent the possibility of retreat. In these circumstances I may fairly ask my readers, what men in the world but ourselves would have ventured on so bold and hazardous an enterprize?

Proceeding along the broad causeway of Iztapalapan, we came to a place called *Xoloc*, where a smaller causeway goes off obliquely from the great one to the city of *Cojohuacan*, we were met by a numerous train of the court nobles in the richest dresses, who were sent before Montezuma to compliment us on our arrival, after which Cacamatzin and the other nobles who had hitherto attended us, went to meet their sovereign, who now approached in a most magnificent litter, which was carried by four of his highest nobles. When we came near certain towers, almost close to the city, Montezuma was lifted from his litter, and borne forwards in the arms of the lords of Tezcuco, Iztapalapan, Tacuba, and Cojohuacan, under

der a splendid canopy, richly adorned with gold, precious stones hung round like fringes, and plumes of green feathers. Montezuma was dressed and adorned with great magnificence, his mantle being all covered with gold and gems, a crown of thin gold on his head, and gold buskins on his legs ornamented with jewels. The princes who supported him were all richly dressed, but in different habits from those in which they had visited us; and several other nobles in fine dresses, went before the monarch, spreading mantles on the ground to prevent his feet from touching it. Three nobles preceded the whole, each carrying a golden rod, as a signal of the presence of their great monarch. All the natives who attended Montezuma, except the four princes, kept their eyes fixed on the ground, no one daring to look him in the face. On the approach of Montezuma, Cortes dismounted and advanced towards him with every token of profound respect, and was welcomed by the Mexican monarch to his metropolis. Cortes then threw upon the neck of Montezuma a collar of the artificial jewels called *margajitas*, being glass beads of various colours, set in gold; after which he advanced, meaning to embrace Montezuma, but the surrounding nobles prevented him, by taking him respectfully by the arms, considering this as too great familiarity. It appeared to me that on this occasion Cortes offered to yield the right hand to Montezuma, who declined this mark of respect, and placed our general on his right. Cortes then made a complimentary discourse to Montezuma, expressing his joy in having seen so great a monarch, and the great honour he had done him, by coming out to meet him, as well as by the many other marks of favour he had already received. Montezuma made a gracious reply, and giving orders to the princes of Tezcuco and Cojohuacan to conduct Cortes and the rest of us to the quarters assigned to us, he returned to the city in the same state in which he had come to meet us, all the people standing close to the walls, not daring to look up; and as we followed the royal attendants, we passed on without any obstruction from the multitudes in the streets. It were impossible to reckon the innumerable multitudes of men, women, and children which thronged everywhere in the streets, on the canals, and the terraces on the house tops, during the whole of our passage through the city of Mexico. So strongly is every thing I saw on this memorable day imprinted on my memory, that it appears to me

me only as yesterday. Glory to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave us courage to venture on so hazardous an enterprize, and preserved us amid so many dangers: And praised be his holy name, who hath permitted me to write this true history; though not so full and satisfactory as the subject merits. Amen!

Lodgings were provided for us in the palace which had formerly been occupied by Azayacatl, not far from the western gate of the great temple. Here Montezuma had a secret treasury of gold and valuables, which he had inherited from his father Azayacatl, and we were placed here, because being considered as *teules*, they thought we were properly lodged in the neighbourhood of their idols. The entry to this palace was through a large walled court, and the whole was very light, airy, clean, and pleasant, with large and lofty apartments. That allotted for our general was situated on a raised platform; and for each of us mats were provided to sleep upon, having little canopies over them, after the fashion of this country. On our arrival at the gate of this palace, Montezuma, who had preceded us, took Cortes by the hand and led him to the apartment destined to his particular use, and having placed a rich collar of gold round the generals neck, he said on taking leave of him, " Malinatzin, you and your friends are now in your own house, refresh and repose yourselves." We were distributed to our several apartments by companies, having our artillery posted in a convenient situation, and every thing was arranged in such a manner as to be prepared for any emergency. A plentiful and even sumptuous entertainment was provided for us, to which we sat down with much satisfaction. This is a full and true account of our adventurous and magnanimous entry into the city of Mexico, on the 8th of November 1519.

After Montezuma had taken a repast in his own palace, and was informed we had done the same, he returned to our quarters attended by a great retinue of nobles. Cortes received him in the middle of the hall, where Montezuma took him cordially by the hand, and they sat down together on magnificently ornamented seats. Montezuma made a very pertinent speech, in which he observed, " That he rejoiced at the arrival of such valiant captains and warriors in his dominions. He had before heard of a Spanish captain who had arrived at Pontonchan, and of another who came upon the coast in the preceding year with four ships, and had wished

wished to see these men, but was disappointed. Now that we were actually arrived in his dominions, he was happy to offer every favour in his power to grant, being convinced we were those men predicted by the gods to his ancestors, who, coming from that part of the world in which the sun rises, were to acquire the government of this country, as we had fought with such astonishing valour ever since our arrival, representations of all our battles having been sent him in painting." Cortes replied, "That he and all his brethren could never sufficiently repay the many favours we had received from his bounty; that we certainly were those men to whom the Mexican prophecies related, being the vassals of the great and powerful emperor Don Carlos, to whom many great princes were subject; and who, hearing of the fame and magnificence of the great Montezuma, had sent us to request that he and his subjects would embrace the Holy Christian religion, abandoning their false gods and senseless idols, and abolishing their barbarous human sacrifices, by which means he would preserve the souls of himself, his family, and subjects from perdition." Cortes enlarged on this and other topics in a most edifying manner, promising to communicate more particulars hereafter. Montezuma then presented a quantity of valuable ornaments of gold to our general, with a present of some gold, and three loads of mantles to each of our captains, and two loads of mantles to each of the soldiers. After this he asked Cortes if all his soldiers were brothers and vassals to our emperor. To this Cortes answered that they were all brothers in love and friendship, men of rank in our own country, and servants of our great sovereign. Montezuma then departed, with mutual compliments, after giving orders that we should be amply provided with every thing we needed; particularly fowls, fruit, and corn, stone mills for grinding our corn, and women to make bread, and to supply us daily with plenty of grass for our horses.

Next day being appointed for making a visit to Montezuma, Cortes went to the royal palace accompanied by captains Alvarado, De Leon, Ordas, and Sandoval, with five soldiers. Montezuma met him in the middle of the great hall, attended by his relations, all others being excluded from the apartment in which he happened to be, except on certain occasions of importance. After mutual compliments of ceremony, Montezuma took Cortes by the hand, and led him to a

seat

seat on his own right hand, placed on an elevated platform in the saloon. Cortes then said, " That he came to him in the name and for the service of the only true God, who was adored by the Christians, the Lord Christ Jesus, who had died to save us and all men. He endeavoured to explain the mystery of the cross, as an emblem of the crucifixion, by which mankind had been redeemed. He recounted the sufferings and death of our Lord and Saviour, who had risen on the third day and ascended to heaven, where he now reigns, the creator of the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and all that they contain. He asserted, that those idols which the natives held as gods, were devils which dared not to remain wherever the holy cross was planted. That as all mankind were brothers, the offspring of the same first pair, our glorious emperor lamented the loss of their souls, which would be brought by their idols into everlasting flames, and had sent us to apply a sure remedy, by abolishing the worship of idols, the bloody and inhuman sacrifices of their fellow men, and their other odious customs so contrary to the law of God: And that our emperor would send them holy men hereafter to explain all these things more fully." To this Montezuma replied, " Malinatzin ! I am much indebted to your emperor for sending you so far to inform me of all these things, of which I have already heard by means of my ambassadors who have visited you in my name, and to which hitherto we have made no reply. We have always worshipped our gods, whom we consider to be just and good, and have no doubt yours are so likewise. It had always been his wish to see us from the first time he had heard of our arrival on his coasts, because he believed we were they of whom their ancient prophecies made mention, and his gods had now granted his desire. That our being refused entrance into his cities was none of his fault; having been done by his subjects without orders, who were terrified by the accounts they had received of us, which reported that we were furious *teules*, who carried thunder and lightning along with us, that our horses eat men, and other such foolish stories. That he now saw we were valiant and wise men, for which he highly esteemed us, and would give us proofs of his favour." Then changing the manner of his discourse to gaiety, he added " Malinatzin ! Your new friends the Tlascalans have informed you that I am like a god, and that every thing about me is gold, silver, and jewels. But you now

now see that I am like other men, and that my houses are of lime, stone, and timber. It is true that I am a powerful sovereign, and have great riches, which I have inherited from my ancestors. You will now treat these reports with the same contempt that I do the ridiculous stories which I have been told of your having command over the elements." To this Cortes replied, that the accounts of enemies were never to be depended on; and made a handsome compliment to Montezuma on his power and grandeur. Montezuma then ordered in a rich present, giving Cortes a quantity of gold, with ten loads of rich stuffs to be divided between him and his captains, and to each of us five soldiers, he gave two gold collars, each worth ten crowns, and two loads of mantles. The gold given on this occasion was worth about a thousand crowns, and the whole was given with so much affability and indifference, as made him appear truly munificent. Cortes now took leave, it being the hour of dinner, and we retired impressed with high respect for the liberality and princely munificence of Montezuma.

The great Montezuma appeared to be about forty years of age, of good stature, well proportioned, and rather thin. His face was rather long, with a pleasant expression, and good eyes, and his complexion rather fairer than the other Indians. His hair was short, just covering his ears, and his scanty beard was thin, black, and well arranged. His person was very clean and delicate, as he bathed every evening; and his manners were a pleasing compound of gravity and good humour. He had two lawful wives, who were princesses, and a number of mistresses; but his visits to these were conducted with such secrecy as only to be known by his most familiar servants; and he lay under no suspicion of unnatural vices, so common among his subjects. The clothes he wore one day were not used for four days after. His guard consisted of two hundred nobles, who had apartments adjoining his own. Certain persons only among these were permitted to speak to him, and when they went into his presence, they laid aside their ordinary rich dresses, putting on others quite plain but clean, entering his apartment barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground, and making three profound reverences as they approached him. On addressing him, they always began, Lord! my Lord! great Lord! and when they had finished, he always dismissed them in few words; on which they retired with their faces towards him, keeping

their

their eyes fixed on the ground. I observed likewise, that all the great men who waited upon him on business, always entered the palace barefooted and in plain habits, never entering the gate directly, but making a circuit in going towards it.

The cooks of the palace had above thirty different ways of dressing meats, which were served up in earthen vessels of a very ingenious construction for keeping their contents always hot. For Montezumas own table above three hundred dishes were dressed every day, and more than a thousand for his guards. Montezuma sometimes went before dinner to inspect the preparations, on which occasions his officers pointed out to him which were the best, explaining what birds or flesh they were composed of. It is said that the flesh of young children was sometimes dressed for his table; but after Cortes had spoken to him respecting the barbarity of this inhuman custom, it was no longer practised in the palace. The ordinary meats were domestic fowls, pheasants, geese, partridges, quails, venison, Indian hogs or *pecaris*, pigeons, hares, rabbits and many other animals and birds peculiar to the country; the various meats being served up on black and red earthen-ware made at Cholula. In the cold weather while at his meals, a number of torches were lighted up, of the bark of a tree which has an aromatic smell and gives no smoke; and to prevent the glare and heat of those from being troublesome, rich screens ornamented with gold and paintings of their idols were interposed between Montezuma and the torches. At his meals he was seated on a low throne or chair, at a table of proportional height covered with white cloths and napkins, four beautiful women attending to present him with water for his hands, in vessels named *xicales*, having plates under them, after which they gave him towels to dry his hands. Two other women attended with small cakes of bread; and when he began to eat, a large screen of gilt wood was placed before him, to prevent him from being seen. Four ancient nobles, who were his relations and served as councillors and judges, stood beside the throne, with whom he occasionally conversed, giving them a part of what he was eating, which they received with profound respect, and eat without lifting their eyes from the ground. Fruit of all kinds produced in the country was served up to him at table, of which he eat in great moderation; and a certain liquor prepared from cocoa, said to be of a stimulant and strengthen-

ing

ing nature, was presented to him from time to time in golden cups. All the time he continued at table his guards and all others in or near his apartment had to preserve the most profound silence, under pain of death. Owing to the beforementioned screen which concealed him from public view, we could not see all the circumstances here described from information. But I noticed above fifty jars of foaming chocolate brought into the hall, some of which was presented to him by the female attendants. During the repast, various Indians were introduced at intervals for his amusement: Some of these were hump-backed, ugly, and deformed, who played various tricks of buffoonery, and we were told that others were jesters, besides which there were companies of singers and dancers in which he was said to take great delight; and to all these he ordered vases of chocolate to be distributed. When the repast was ended, the four female attendants already mentioned, after removing the cloths, presented him again with water to wash his hands, during which he continued his conversation with the four old nobles, who then took their leaves with much ceremony. He was then presented with three small hollow canes highly ornamented, containing an herb called tobacco mixed with liquid amber; and when he was satisfied with the buffoons, dancers, and singers, he smoked for a short time from one of these canes, and then laid himself to sleep. I forgot to mention in its proper place that, during the time of dinner, two beautiful women were employed in making certain small delicately white cakes, of eggs and other ingredients, which they presented on plates covered with napkins to Montezuma; and then another kind of bread was brought to him in long loaves, as likewise plates of a kind of cakes resembling wafers or pancakes. When Montezuma had concluded his meal, all his guards and domestics sat down to dinner, and as well as I could judge, above a thousand dishes of the various eatables already mentioned were served up to them, with immense quantities of fruit, and numerous vessels of foaming chocolate. His establishment, including his women and inferior servants of all kinds, was amazingly numerous, and must have occasioned prodigious expence, yet the most perfect regularity was preserved amid that vast profusion. The steward of his household, or major-domo, was at this time a prince named *Tapiea*, who kept an account of all the royal rents in a set of books or symbolical representations which occupied an entire house.

Connected

Connected with the palace of Montezuma there were two large buildings filled with every kind of arms, both offensive and defensive, some of which were richly ornamented with gold and jewels; such as large and small shields, some of the latter being so contrived as to roll up in a small compass, and to let fall in action so as to cover the whole body; much defensive armour of quilted cotton, ornamented with various devices in feather work; helmets or casques for the head made of wood and bone, adorned with plumes of feathers; immense quantities of bows, arrows, darts, and slings; lances having stone heads or blades six feet long, so strong as not to break when fixed in a shield, and as sharp as razors; clubs or two-handed swords, having edges of sharp stones; and many other articles which I cannot enumerate. In the palace there was a magnificent aviary, containing every kind of bird to be found in all the surrounding country, from large eagles down to the smallest paroquets of beautiful plumage. In this place the ornamental feather-work so much in repute among the Mexicans, was fabricated, the feathers for this purpose being taken from certain birds called *Quetzales*, and others, having green, red, white, yellow, and blue feathers, about the size of our Spanish pyes, the name of which I have forgot. There were also great numbers of parrots, and geese of fine plumage; all these birds breeding in the royal aviary, and being annually stripped of their feathers at the proper season, to supply the workers in feather-work. There was likewise a large pond of clear water, in which were kept a number of large birds of a red colour with very long legs, resembling those called *Ipiris* in Cuba, and called flamingos by the Spaniards. In another great building we saw a temple dedicated to the war gods, in which were kept great numbers of ferocious beasts, as tigers, lions of two species, one of which called *Adive* resembled a wolf; also foxes, and other smaller animals, all of them carnivorous. Most of these were bred in this menagerie, and were fed upon game, fowls, and dogs, and, as I was informed, on the bodies of the sacrificed human victims. Their manner of sacrifice was said to be as follows: They open the breasts of the living victim with large stone knives, offering his heart and blood to their gods; they feast on the head and limbs, giving the bodies to be devoured by the wild beasts, and hanging up the skulls in the temples as trophies of their misguided piety. In this place likewise there were many vipers and serpents, the most dangerous of

which

which have a kind of rattle on their tails, making a noise like our castanets. These are kept in vessels filled with feathers, where they breed, and are fed with human flesh and the carcases of dogs. I was assured, after our expulsion from Mexico, that these animals were fed for many days on the bodies of our companions who perished on that occasion. These ravenous beasts and horrid reptiles are fit companions for their infernal deities; and when they yelled and hissed, that part of the palace might be likened to hell itself.

The town in which most of the Mexican artists resided was called *Azcapozalco*, about a league from the city of Mexico, in which were many shops and manufactories of those who wrought in gold, silver, and jewellery, whose productions surprised the ablest Spanish artist on being carried over to Spain. Their painters were also exceedingly expert, as may be judged from what we still see among them; as there are now three Indian painters in Mexico, named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and Crespillo, who are not inferior to Michael Angelo or Berreguete among the moderns, and might even have vied with Apelles. The fine cotton manufactures of the Mexicans were principally brought from the province of Costitlan. The women likewise of Montezumas family of all ranks, were exceedingly expert in these kinds of work, and were continually employed; as were also certain females who lived together in a kind of secluded societies, like our nuns. One division of the city was entirely inhabited by Montezumas dancers and posture-makers; some of whom danced like those Italians whom we call *Matachines*; others played various tricks by means of sticks which they balanced in many curious ways; and others had a strange manner of flying in the air. Montezuma had also great numbers of carpenters and handicrafts of various descriptions continually employed in his service. His gardens were of great extent, irrigated by means of canals, and shaded by an infinite variety of trees; having stone baths, pavilions for entertainments or retirement, theatres for shows and for the singers and dancers, and many other particulars, all of which were kept in the nicest order by a great number of labourers who were constantly at work.

Four days after our arrival in Mexico, Cortes sent a message to Montezuma by Aguilar, Donna Marina, and a young page named Orteguilla, who already began to understand the language, requesting permission to take a view of the city, which

which was immediately granted; but as he was afraid we might offer some insult to his temple, he went thither in person attended by a great retinue, and in similar pomp as when he came to meet us on entering Mexico; two nobles preceding the cavalcade carrying sceptres in their hands, as a signal of the approach of the monarch. Montezuma was carried in his magnificent litter, carrying a small rod in his hand, half of which was gold and the other half wood: and on coming to the temple, he quitted the litter and walked up the steps attended by many priests, where he offered incense and performed many ceremonies in honour of his war gods. Cortes marched at the head of his small band of cavalry, followed by most of the infantry under arms, into the great square, accompanied by many of the court nobles; where we were astonished at the prodigious crowds of people, the vast quantities of merchandize exposed for sale, and the amazing regularity which everywhere prevailed; all of which our Mexican attendants carefully pointed out to us. Every different commodity had its own particular place, which was distinguished by an appropriate sign or emblem. There were dealers in gold, silver, feathers, jewels, mantles, chocolate, skins both dressed and undressed, sandals, manufactures of the roots and fibres of *nequen*, and so forth. In one place great numbers of male and female slaves were exposed for sale, most of whom were fastened by the neck in leather collars to long poles. The market for provisions was amply stocked with fowls, game, dogs, vegetables, fruit, articles of food ready dressed, salt, bread, honey, sweet pastry or confectionary of various kinds, and many other articles. Other parts of the great square were appropriated for the sale of earthen ware, wooden furniture, such as tables and benches, fire-wood, paper, hollow canes filled with tobacco and liquid amber ready for smoking, copper axes, working tools of various kinds, wooden vessels richly painted, and the like. In another part many women sold fish, and small loaves of a kind of mud taken out of the lake resembling cheese. The makers of stone blades were employed in shaping them out of the rough materials. The dealers in gold had the native metal in grains as it comes from the mines, in transparent tubes or quills, so that it could easily be seen; and the gold was valued at so many mantles, or so many xiquipils of cocoa nuts, in proportion to the size of the quills. The great square was enclosed all round by piazas, under which there were great stores of grain,

grain, and shops for various kinds of goods. On the borders of the adjoining canals there were boats loaded with human ordure, used in tanning leather, and on all the public roads there were places built of canes and thatched with straw or grass, for the convenience of passengers in order to collect this material. In one part of the square was a court of justice having three judges, and their inferior officers were employed in perambulating the market, preserving order, and inspecting the various articles.

After having satisfied our curiosity in the square, we proceeded to the great temple, where we went through a number of large courts, the smallest of which seemed to me larger than the great square of Salamanca, the courts being either paved with large cut white stones, or plastered and polished, the whole very clean, and inclosed by double walls of stone and lime. On coming to the gate of the great temple, which was ascended by 114 steps, Montezuma sent six priests and two nobles to carry up Cortes, which he declined. On ascending to the summit, which consisted of a broad platform, we observed the large stones on which the victims were placed for sacrifice, near which was a monstrous figure resembling a dragon, and much blood appeared to have been recently spilt. Montezuma came out of an adoratory or recess, in which the accursed idols were kept, and expressed his apprehension to Cortes that he must be fatigued by the ascent, to which Cortes answered that we were never fatigued. Montezuma, taking our general by the hand, pointed out to him the different quarters of the city, and the towns in the neighbourhood, all of which were distinctly seen from this commanding eminence. We had a distinct view of the three causeways by which Mexico communicated with the land, and of the aqueduct of Chapoltepec, which conveyed an abundant supply of the finest water to the city. The numbers of canoes which were continually seen passing between Mexico and all the towns on the borders of the lake, carrying provisions and merchandise, was really astonishing. We could see, as we had been often told, that most of the houses of this great city, and of the others in the neighbourhood which were built in the water, stood apart from each other, their only communication being by means of drawbridges or canoes, and that all their roofs were terraced and battlemented. We saw numerous temples and adoratories in the great city below, on the causeways, and in the adjacent cities, all resembling so many fortresses with towers, wonderfully

wonderfully brilliant, being all whitewashed. The noise and bustle of the market in the great square just below, was so great that it might easily have been heard almost at the distance of a league; and some of our companions who had seen both Rome and Constantinople, declared they had not seen any thing comparable in these cities, for convenient and regular distribution or numbers of people.

After having admired the magnificent prospect around, Cortes requested of Montezuma to shew us their gods. After consulting with his priests, he led us into a kind of saloon in a tower, having a timber roof richly wrought, under which stood two altars highly adorned, and behind these two gigantic figures resembling very fat men. That on the right was *Huitzilopochtli*, the god of war, having a broad face and terrible eyes, all covered over with gold and jewels, and having his body twisted round with golden serpents. His right hand held a bow, and in his left there was a bundle of arrows. Round his neck was a string of the figures of human heads and hearts made of pure gold, intermixed with precious stones of a blue colour. Close by him stood a small image representing his page, carrying a lance and shield richly adorned with gold and jewels. Before the great idol stood a pan of fire, in which three hearts of human victims were then burning along with copal. The whole walls and floor of the apartment was stained with human blood, and had a most offensive smell, worse than any slaughter-house. On the left of Huitzilopochtli stood another gigantic figure, having a countenance like a bear, with great shining eyes. The name of this last was *Tezcatlipoca*, who was said to be the god of the infernal regions, and to preside over the souls of men [1]. He was likewise considered as the brother of the god of war. His body was covered all over with figures representing little devils with tails of serpents, and was richly adorned with gold and jewels. Before this idol lay an offering of five human hearts. On the summit of the whole temple was a recess having its wood-work very highly ornamented, where we saw a figure half human and the rest like an alligator, all inlaid with jewels, and partly covered by a mantle. He was considered as the germ and origin of all created things, and was

1 Clavigero calls this the god of providence, the soul of the world, the creator of heaven and earth, and the master of all things, the rewarder of the just and the punisher of the wicked.—E.

worshipped as the god of harvests and fruits. Here likewise the walls and altar were stained with blood like the others, and so offensive that we were glad to retire in all haste. In this place there stood a drum of prodigious size, the head of which was made of the skin of a large serpent, which resounded, when struck, with a noise that might be heard at the distance of two leagues, and gave out a sound so doleful, that it might be named the drum of hell. This dreadful drum, the horrid sound of their horns and trumpets, and the shocking sight of their great sacrificial knives, the remnants of human victims, and their blood-stained altars and fanes, made me anxious to get away from this horrible scene of human butchery, detestable smells, and abominable sights.

Addressing himself to Montezuma, half jest half earnest, Cortes expressed his astonishment how so wise a prince could adore such absurd and wicked gods; and proposed to substitute the cross on the summit of the tower, and the images of the Holy Virgin and her ever-blessed Son in the adoratories, instead of those horrid idols, assuring him that he would soon be convinced of the vanity of his idolatry, and the deception practised on him by these inhuman priests. Montezuma was much displeased with these expressions, saying that he would not have admitted us to the temple if he had known we were to insult his gods, who dispensed health, good harvests, seasonable weather, and victory, and whom they were bound in duty and gratitude to adore. Cortes dropped the subject and proposed to withdraw, to which Montezuma assented, observing that he must remain, and atone by an expiatory sacrifice for having admitted us into the temple. Cortes then took leave of the king, and we descended the steps, to the great inconvenience of our invalids. If I am not quite so correct as I wish and ought to be in many of the things which I relate and describe, I must beg my readers to consider the situation in which I then served, being under the necessity of giving more attention to the orders of my officers than to the surrounding objects of curiosity. The temple which we had just visited covered a prodigious extent of ground, and diminished gradually from the base to the platform on the top, having five concavities like barbicans between the middle and the top, but without parapets. On the broad platform of the summit there was a tower in which the images were placed. But as there are many paintings of temples in the possession of the conquerors,

rors, one of which I have, it will be easy to form an idea of the structure of this temple from these representations [2]. It was said by the Mexicans, that numerous offerings of gold, silver, jewels, productions of the earth, and human victims were deposited under the foundations of this great temple at the time of its erection; and it is certain, when the ground on which it stood was afterwards dug up for the church of St Jago, that we found great quantities of gold, silver, and other valuables on sinking the new foundations. A Mexican also, who obtained a grant of part of this ground, discovered a considerable treasure, about which there was a law-suit for the royal interest. This account was confirmed by King Guatimotzin, who assured us that the circumstances were recorded in ancient historical paintings. At a small distance from the great temple, there stood a tower, having a gate or entrance always open, like the mouth of an enormous monster, ready to devour those who entered this hell or habitation of the demons. At this horrible door there stood many frightful idols, beside which there was a place for sacrifice, and within there were pots full of water ready to boil the flesh of the victims, which formed the horrible repasts of the priests. The idols were like serpents and devils, and the place, all smeared over with human blood, was furnished with knives for sacrifice like the slaughter-house of a butcher. In another part of the buildings there were great piles of wood, and a reservoir of water supplied by a pipe from the great aqueduct of Chapoltepec. In one of the courts there was a temple, all besmeared with blood and soot, surrounded by the tombs of the Mexican nobility. In another court there were immense piles of human bones, all regularly arranged. Every temple had its peculiar idols, and each its regular establishment of priests, who were dressed in long black vestments, something between the dress of our canons and the Dominican friars. They all wore their hair long and clotted with blood, and their ears were all lacerated in honour of their abominable idols. At some distance from the temple of the tombs, there was another of which the idols were said

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2 Along with the work of Bernal Diaz, and in the history of Mexico by Clavigero, there are representations of ancient Mexican temples. In both they consist of six frustums of truncated pyramids, placed above each other, having a gallery or open walk around at each junction, and straight outside stairs reaching between each gallery, not unlike the representations that have been ideally formed of the tower of Babel.—E.

to preside over marriages; and all the courts were surrounded by low houses for the priests and their numerous assistants. Hard by these was a large building in which great numbers of the Mexican young women resided, as in a nunnery, till they were married. They were devoted to the worship of two female deities, who presided over marriages, to whom they sacrificed in order to obtain good husbands. I have thus been diffuse in describing this great temple, as it was by far the largest and most splendid in Mexico; yet the temple of Cholula was still higher, having 120 steps. This was built on a different plan from that of Mexico, and was held in high veneration by the natives. The temple of Tezcuco also was very large, being ascended by 117 steps, and all these differed in their structure, though they all agreed in having a number of outer courts, and a double inclosure. Every province of this country had its own peculiar gods, who were supposed to have no concern with those of other provinces, so that its gods and idols were quite innumerable. Having effectually fatigued ourselves in examining the objects I have just described, we retired to our quarters.

As Montezuma was entirely adverse to the proposal of Cortes for converting the great temple of Mexico into a Christian church, he was exceedingly desirous to have a chapel and altar in our quarters, and made application to Montezuma through one of his principal nobles to have materials for this purpose. This request was immediately complied with, and as abundance of timber and native workmen were sent immediately, it was completed in three days. In this new chapel mass was celebrated every day, though we lamented the want of wine for the holy eucharist, as it had been all expended during the illness of Cortes, Olmedo, and others, while we were in the dominions of Tlascala. We were extremely regular in our devotions, both because it was our duty, and that we might impress a favourable opinion of our holy religion on Montezuma and his subjects. While our carpenters were looking out for a proper place in which to fix the holy cross of our chapel, they observed the appearance of a door in one of the walls of our quarters which had been closed up. Cortes caused this to be privately opened, and an apartment was found within, in which countless riches were deposited. The secret soon transpired, and we went all to view the concealed treasury. I was then a young man, and

and it seemed to me that all the treasures of the world gathered together could not have reached the amount of what we then saw. It was thought prudent to close up the door of this place, and to conceal our knowledge of it and its contents to a proper opportunity.

About this time Cortes convened a council of four captains and twelve soldiers, of those in whom he had most confidence, among whom I was, in order to consult upon our present situation and future procedure. Having duly considered how obviously we had been hitherto guided and preserved by the mercy of God, and how the natives, though now kind, might soon change through their native fickleness, and notwithstanding the present hospitality of Montezuma, he might at any time plot our destruction, we unanimously resolved, on the suggestion of Cortes, that the most effectual measure for our security was to make that monarch our prisoner and the guarantee of our safety. We knew not but we might all be poisoned in our food, and no gift which he could make us, not even all his fathers treasures which we had just discovered, could compensate to us for the continual alarms in which we lived. Some of the officers present at the council, proposed to induce Montezuma by some plausible pretext to come to our quarters, when we could easily seize him without resistance or danger. It was observed by some of our soldiers, that we were not now so plentifully supplied with provisions by the royal officers as at our first coming; and that our interpreter, Aguilar, had been secretly informed by two of our Tlascalan allies, that they had noticed several indications of evil intentions towards us among the Mexicans, for the last two days. After a long consultation, we agreed to adjourn the consideration of the means of executing our resolution till next day; and in the meantime the reverend Father Olmedo was consulted on the subject, and we prayed God to guide and direct our proceedings for the best, in our present ticklish and dangerous situation. Next day, two Tlascalans arrived secretly with letters from Villa Rica, with an account that Escalente and six Spaniards had been slain in a battle with the Mexicans, and that the inhabitants of Chempoalla and the neighbouring mountains, who had submitted to us, had revolted back to the Mexican government, refusing to supply provisions, or to work on the fortifications, insomuch, that the remaining garrison of Villa Rica were in much distress and knew not how to act. These letters

letters said likewise, that the high opinion which the natives had adopted with respect to the Spaniards was much altered for the worse, since they found they could be killed like other men. This intelligence gave us much affliction. It was the first defeat we had experienced since our landing; and had produced a most alarming change in our situation, and in the opinions of the Mexicans. Before this, we were in possession of wealth, and were considered as invulnerable, and almost like demigods; but were now lowered in the estimation of the natives, almost to a level with themselves, in whose power we were. It now seemed more necessary than ever to our very existence that we should secure the person of Montezuma; considering that if we failed in the attempt, we might as well perish in what seemed our only chance of safety, as wait to be overwhelmed by the whole power of the Mexican empire. Before I proceed to narrate the sequel of our transactions in Mexico, I shall give an account of the misfortune which befel Escalente [3].

It has been already mentioned, that about thirty native chiefs of districts in the neighbourhood of Villa Rica, had voluntarily submitted to our government at Chiahuitztla. After our little army had penetrated to the capital of the Mexican empire, the commander of a garrison belonging to Montezuma endeavoured to levy contributions from some of these our new subjects: and when this was represented to Escalente, who commanded at Villa Rica, he sent orders to the Mexican officers to desist, as otherwise he would be under the necessity of chastising them, though he wished to remain in peace and friendship with the subjects of Mexico. To this the Mexican officers sent a haughty reply, saying that he would find them in the field. On receiving this answer, Escalente, who was a brave man, set out with forty of his own soldiers, and two thousand of our allies of the Totanaca nation to march against the Mexicans, whom he found pillaging the country, and immediately attacked them. Our allies were always afraid of the Mexicans, and fled at the first shower of arrows, leaving the Spaniards to get out of the scrape as well as they might. They made their retreat with great

3 Clavigero pretends that the defeat and death of Escalente were known to Cortes and his followers while at Cholula. This is highly improbable, both from the narrative of Diaz, and because Cortes would not certainly have put himself entirely in the power of Montezuma, after this unequivocal demonstration of resolute enmity.—E.

great difficulty to Villa Rica[4], where Escalente and six of his soldiers died of their wounds. A Spanish soldier named Arguello, of great bodily strength, with a large head, and thick frizzled beard, was taken alive, but died of his wounds. The Mexican captains reported the whole of this affair to Montezuma, to whom they brought the head of Arguello; and it is said that Montezuma trembled when he beheld it, and ordered it to be taken out of the way. He reproached his captains for not having overwhelmed the whole of that small number of Spaniards with their numerous forces; but they alleged that a supernatural being fought against them, assisting and encouraging the Spaniards, and struck terror into their men.

Having finally resolved to seize Montezuma, we spent the whole night before proceeding on that hazardous enterprize in earnest prayer to God, that what we were about to do might redound to his holy service; and in the morning we arranged the manner in which this our resolution was to be executed. Our cavalry and infantry were all ordered to be in readiness for instant action, and as it was usual with us to go always fully armed, this circumstance gave no suspicion to the Mexicans. Leaving the whole of his forces prepared to act in case of need, Cortes proceeded to the palace, attended by five of his captains, Alvarado, Sandoval, De Leon, De Lugo, and Avila[5], with the interpreters Donna Marina and Aguilar, having first sent a message to the king, intimating his intention to wait upon him. Montezuma supposed that this visit of Cortes was on occasion of the affair which had lately occurred at Chiahuitztla, and that our general was much displeased on that account, yet sent back that he would be glad to see him. Our general, *and we who were with him*, immediately went to the royal apartment, and after paying his

4 In the original of Diaz they are said to have retreated to Almeria, but this is an obvious mistake. Almeria, according to Clavigero, II. 55, was the name given by the Spaniards to Nauhtlan, a city on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, thirty-six miles north of Villa Rica, which was governed by Quauhpopoca for Montezuma, and by whom the Mexican detachment was commanded by which Escalente was defeated.—E.

5 It is obvious from a circumstance in the sequel of this story that Diaz and other soldiers attended Cortes on this occasion. Clavigero, II. 77. says there were twenty-five soldiers besides the five captains, who repaired two by two to the palace, and joined Cortes there as if by accident. This daring transaction took place eight days after the arrival of Cortes in the city of Mexico.—E.

his respects as usual, Cortes addressed Montezuma to the following effect through his interpreters: "He was astonished that so brave and magnanimous a monarch, who had shewn so much friendship for us on all occasions, should have clandestinely given orders to his troops in *Totonacapan*[6] to make an attack upon the Spaniards whom he had left at Villa Rica, in which one of them had been killed, and our allies the Totonacas had been pillaged and destroyed without mercy." Cortes intentionally concealed the death of Escalente and his six soldiers, not wishing that the extent of our loss on this occasion should be known to the Mexicans. He then charged Montezuma as the author of the treachery which had been attempted against us in Cholula, saying, that he had hitherto refrained from speaking on that subject, from motives of esteem and respect; but, from the late hostile attack by his governor of Totonacapan, and having learned that the officers of the court were plotting to cut us off in Mexico, it became necessary for us to use effectual measures to secure our safety. For this purpose therefore, and in order to prevent the ruin of the city of Mexico, it was necessary that his majesty should go immediately to our quarters, assuring him if he gave the smallest alarm, or made any resistance, the officers and soldiers then present would put him instantly to death. On hearing this proposal Montezuma was so petrified with terror and amazement that he seemed to have lost all sensation for a time. After recovering a little, he positively denied having given any orders to Quauhpopoca the governor of Nauhtlan to attack our troops under Escalente; and taking from his wrist the signet of Huitzilopochtli, which he employed on all occasions of importance to confirm and enforce his orders, he gave it to one of his officers whom he commanded to bring Quauhpopoca to court without delay to answer for his conduct. Then assuming a dignified air, he declined the proposal of quitting his palace with disdain, declaring that he would not be constrained to take so humiliating a step. Cortes endeavoured to explain the necessity of his immediate compliance, and the king persisted in his refusal, so that the conversation drew to considerable length, half an hour at least having elapsed. The captains who accompanied

6 Diaz calls this Tuzapan; but as Nauhtlan was in the country of the Totonacas, called Totonacapan by the Mexicans, we have chosen here and everywhere else that this could be done with certainty, to adopt the orthography of Clavigero.—E.

companied Cortes became impatient of delay, fearing that great numbers of the Mexicans might collect to the rescue of their sovereign, and that we should be oppressed under superior force. In this dilemma, De Leon exclaimed in his rough voice to Cortes: " Why, Sir, do you waste so many words? Tell him, that if he does not instantly yield himself our prisoner, we will plunge our swords into his body: Let us now assure our lives or perish." Montezuma was much struck with the manner in which De Leon expressed himself, and asked Donna Marina what he had said. She answered with much discretion, by mildly advising him to consent immediately to go along with us, assuring him that he would be treated with all the honour and respect he could desire, whereas she was convinced we would put him to death if he refused or even hesitated. Montezuma then offered to put his legitimate son and two daughters into the hands of Cortes, as hostages, and earnestly entreated that he might not be exposed before his subjects as a prisoner. But Cortes assured him that nothing short of what had been originally proposed could satisfy us, and that all remonstrances were unavailing. At last he was obliged to consent, saying, " I trust myself with you, let us go! let us go! since the gods will have it so." Our captains gave him every assurance of their perfect esteem and respect, begging of him not to be offended at their conduct, which was indispensably necessary to their own safety, and requested that he would say to his officers that he went of his own free will, and by the advice of his gods and priests. His magnificent state litter was now brought for his accommodation, and he proceeded to our quarters in his accustomed pomp, attended by his guards, where he was received and entertained with every mark of respect; yet our posts and centinels were properly placed in every direction to guard against his escape or rescue. He was soon waited on by the princes of his family, and all the principal Mexican nobles, who came to inquire the reason of this change of abode, and whether it was his wish that they should attack us. But he told them that he intended to remain with us for a few days, and commanded them to take no steps which might disturb the peace of the city.

Thus we accomplished the seizure of the great Montezuma. He was attended in our quarters with the same magnificence as in his own palace; his wives, family, and officers being constantly with him, and having always twenty chiefs or

counsellors

counsellors in his presence. He bathed twice a-day, and appeared calm and resigned to his fate. Ambassadors came to him from all the provinces of his empire; some to deliver the accustomed tribute, and others to transact various affairs of importance, all of which was dispatched in the usual manner. I perfectly remember that however great might be the princes or chiefs who had to wait upon him, they always took off their rich dresses and put on plain and coarse *nequen* clothes, and came into the royal apartments in this habit, barefooted, not entering directly, but making a circuit by the wall. On entering the presence they kept their eyes cast down on the ground, and after three profound reverences, always began their addresses in these words, *lord! my lord! great lord!* They then displayed certain cloths before him, on which the business they came upon was represented by painting, the particulars of which they explained pointing out the figures by means of nicely polished rods or wands. While this was going on, two old nobles always stood beside the king, who attentively considered every circumstance, on which they gave him their opinions, and he then dispatched the affair in few words. The person who had the business with the king then withdrew without reply, making three profound reverences as before, always keeping his eyes on the ground, and his face to the throne till out of sight. On leaving the royal apartments, they reassumed their rich dresses, in which they walked about the city.

The messengers who had been dispatched with the royal signet to arrest the officers against whom Cortes had complained for the attack on Escalente, soon returned with them to Mexico. I know not what passed in the royal presence when they appeared before the king; but he sent them immediately to Cortes to do with them as he pleased. On their examination, when the king was not present, they avowed all that had happened in Totonacapan, but said that they had acted by orders from Montezuma, by whom they had been commanded to levy the royal tribute, and even to attack the Spaniards if they should support the refractory subjects of the empire. On Montezuma being charged with this, he endeavoured to exculpate himself; but Cortes told him, that although his participation in the guilt of his officers was apparent, and although he had been commanded by his own sovereign to punish with death all who had inflicted death on any of the Spaniards, yet he had so great a regard for his majesty,

majesty, that he would sooner loose his own life than do him any injury. Notwithstanding these assurances, Montezuma was in great fear of being put to death. Cortes sentenced the Mexican officers to be burnt alive in front of their kings palace, which was immediately carried into executicn; and to prevent any commotion while this was taking place, he ordered Montezuma to be put in irons. The unfortunate king could not suppress his sense of this indignity, and wept aloud when the fetters were put on. After the execution was over, Cortes went into the apartment of Montezuma, attended by his five captains formerly mentioned, and took off the irons with his own hands, assuring him with a cordial embrace, that he loved him more even than a brother, and that he hoped soon to extend his dominions to more than double their present size. He is said also to have told him that he was now at liberty to return to his own palace, if he so wished; but we understood that Cortes ordered the interpreters to inform Montezuma, that he was inclined to set him at liberty, but that the other officers refused their consent. The spirit of the unfortunate king was now entirely subdued, and the tears ran down his cheeks while Cortes was speaking: He declined the offer with thanks, well knowing the emptiness of his words; adding, that he thought it most prudent to remain where he was, to prevent an insurrection in the city. Montezuma requested Cortes to give him his page, Orteguilla, a youth who had already made considerable progress in the Mexican language. Cortes immediately complied, and Orteguilla remained afterwards constantly about the kings person, as Montezuma took great delight in inquiring from him many particulars respecting the manners and customs of Europe; and, from his knowledge of the language, Orteguilla was of great service to us in the sequel, by communicating every circumstance that was of importance for us to be made acquainted with. Montezuma continued to reside among us, always treated with the utmost respect and attention, as no officer and soldier, even Cortes, ever came into his presence or even passed him, without taking of his helmet. He always treated us in return with much courtesey.

The Mexican officers who were publickly executed, were four in number. Of these Quauhpopoca was the principal, two of the others were named *Coatl* and *Quiabuitl*, but I have forgot

forgot the name of the fourth [7]. As soon as this punishment was made known throughout the provinces of the Mexican empire, it occasioned universal terror among the natives, and the people of Tontonacapan immediately returned to submission to our garrison at Villa Rica.—Let me now pause, and request my readers to consider the train of our heroic acts which I have already related. *First*, we destroyed our ships, by which we cut off all hope of retreat. *Secondly*, we entered the city of Mexico, in spite of the many alarming warnings we had received. *Thirdly*, we made Montezuma, the sovereign of that great and populous empire, a prisoner, in the midst of his own palace and capital, surrounded by numerous guards. *Fourthly*, we publickly burnt his officers in front of his palace, and put the king in irons during the execution. I now frequently revolve upon these great events in my old age, which still appear as fresh in my memory as if they had only happened yesterday. I say to myself, it was not *we* who did those mighty things, but we were guided therein by the hand of God. For without his direction, how was it to be conceived that so small a number as we were, not amounting to four hundred and fifty men, should have dared to seize and put in irons, and publickly burn his officers for obeying his orders, in a city larger and more populous than Venice, and 1500 leagues from our own country.

It was necessary to appoint a successor in the command at Villa Rica, and accordingly Cortes gave the command to Alonzo de Grado, an indifferent soldier, but a good speaker, a handsome man, a musician, and a ready writer, who had always been adverse to our marching to Mexico, and was the chief orator on these occasions, in conveying the sentiments of the opposite party to Cortes. On notifying this appointment, Cortes said to him jocularly, "Senior de Grado, you are now commandant of Villa Rica. See that you fortify it well; but I charge you not to go to war with the wicked Indians, lest they kill you as they have done Juan de Escalente." This was said ironically, as Cortes well knew he would not venture out of his garrison for any consideration. As we noticed the concealed meaning of Cortes in these words, we

7 According to Claivgero, II. 82. Quauhpopoca, his son, and fifteen other nobles were cruelly put to death on this occasion. Diaz names the principal chief Quetzalpopoca.—E.

we could hardly refrain from laughing aloud. He then enjoined him to be kind to the natives, and to protect them from oppression; to use all diligence in completing the fortifications of the wooden fort, and to cause two large chains to be made from the old iron of the destroyed ships, by the smiths at Villa Rica, which were to be sent immediately to Mexico. De Grado, on arriving at his government, assumed a lofty demeanour, and ordered the neighbouring Indians who were allied with us, to send him gold and females slaves, neglecting the fortifications, and spending his time in feasting and deep play. What was still worse, he plotted with the adherents of Velasquez to deliver up to him the post with which he had been entrusted. When Cortes learned these things, he repented of having employed a person whose bad dispositions he well knew in a post of so much importance, and sent therefore Sandoval, our alguazil-major to supersede him. Sandoval was accompanied by Pedro de Ircio, who used to amuse him with anecdotes of the families of the Conde de Ureno and Don Pedro Giron, by which means he gained the favour of Sandoval, who never ceased promoting him till he got him to the rank of captain. On his arrival at Villa Rica, Sandoval arrested De Grado, and sent him prisoner to Mexico, under a guard of Indians, by order of Cortes, who would not see him on his arrival, but ordered him to be confined in the stocks, where he remained two days. De Grado afterwards made his peace, and got the office of contador, in place of Avila, who was sent over to Hispaniola as procurador. Sandoval made himself exceedingly popular among the natives in the neighbourhood of Villa Rica, and diligently applied to complete the fortifications. He likewise sent to Mexico by order of the general, all the iron-work necessary for the construction of two vessels which were ordered to be built for sailing on the lake.

Every day after mass Cortes went with all his officers to pay his respects to Montezuma, asking his orders, the king always affecting to be perfectly contented with his situation. On these occasions the discourse frequently turned upon the principles of our holy faith, and the power of our emperor Don Carlos. At other times Montezuma and Cortes used to play at a game called *totoloque* by the Mexicans, in which they aim with golden balls at certain other objects made of gold. Once, when Cortes and Alvarado were playing against Montezuma and his nephew, the king said in a jocular manner,

ner, that he would not allow *Tonatiu*, for so he called Alvarado on account of his handsomeness, to mark, as if he cheated; on which we all fell a laughing, as we knew Alvarado was rather given to exaggeration. On these occasions, Cortes gave all his winnings among the Mexican attendants of the king; and Montezuma distributed his among us soldiers of the guard. Indeed he every day made presents to all of us who attended him, and particularly to Velasquez de Leon, the captain of his guard, who always treated him with much respect and attention. One night, a soldier named Truxillo, was guilty of a very disrespectful action within his hearing, at which Montezuma was much offended, and asked the page Orteguilla who had committed this extreme rudeness. Orteguilla told him that Truxillo was a person of low birth, and knew no better, and then gave him an account of our different ranks and characters, by which he was much gratified. He sent next day for Truxillo, and after reproving him for his unmannerly behaviour, made him a present worth five crowns. Next night, Truxillo committed a similar rudeness, in hopes to get more gold, but Montezuma complained to De Leon, who ordered Truxillo to be relieved, after which he gave him a severe reprimand. Another night, a soldier named Pedro Lopez happened to be unwell, and cursed that dog of an Indian, meaning Montezuma, for occasioning so much trouble. The king overheard this and discovered its meaning, on which he complained to Cortes, who ordered the man to be whipped. After this, proper discipline and strict silence were preserved by the guard, which greatly pleased the king, who knew us all, and used to address us by our names, and was always very kind to us. I was then a young man, and always behaved to him with much respect. The page had informed him that I had been twice on the coast of his empire before the arrival of Cortes, and that I had desired him to say to his majesty that I would be much obliged to him for a handsome Indian girl. He very graciously complied with this request, and calling me before him, addressed me to the following effect: "Bernal Diaz, the young woman I now present to you is the daughter of one of my principal nobles; treat her well, and her relations will give you as much gold, and as many mantles as you can desire." I respectfully kissed his hand, thanking him for his gracious condescension, and prayed God to bless and prosper him. On which he observed, that my manner spoke me of

of noble extraction, and he ordered me three plates of gold, and two loads of mantles. In the morning, after his devotions, according to the manner of his country, Montezuma used to eat a light breakfast of vegetables seasoned with *agi*, which is a kind of pepper. He then employed a full hour in the dispatch of business, in the way I have formerly mentioned, being attended at this time by twenty counsellors; and in this way, sometimes amusing himself, and sometimes meditating on his situation, he spent the time of his confinement among us. He had many mistresses, and he used often to give away some of these in marriage among his officers and particular friends. Some of these ladies fell to our lot, and the one I got was a lady of high birth, as she shewed by her manner; after her baptism she was called Donna Francisca.

After the iron materials, with sails and cordage had arrived from Villa Rica, Cortes asked leave from Montezuma to build two brigantines for the purpose of his amusement on the lake, and also that he would order the native carpenters to assist in their construction. Montezuma readily consented, and as there was plenty of oak at no great distance, the work went on expeditiously under Martin Lopez our principal ship-builder, so that the two brigantines were soon built, launched, and rigged. While this was going on, Montezuma begged to be allowed to perform his devotions in the great temple, that his friends and subjects might be satisfied he lived among us by his own choice, and the permission of his gods. Cortes granted this, under a strict caution to beware of doing any thing that might bring his life in hazard, as he would send a strong guard along with him, with orders to put him to death instantly if any commotion should arise among the people. Cortes likewise insisted that no human sacrifices should be permitted on the occasion. All this being agreed to, Montezuma set out for the temple in his usual pomp, attended by four of our captains, and an hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers, Father Olmedo being likewise present, to prevent any human sacrifices. Montezuma came out of his litter near the temple, where he was met by a number of priests, who carried him up the steps. They had sacrificed four Indians the night before to their accursed idols, as all our endeavours were insufficient to stop that abominable practice, which we were forced to connive at for a season, being afraid to do any thing which might occasion an

an insurrection. After remaining a short time at his devotions, Montezuma came down from the temple, and returned to our quarters in much good humour, and made presents to all of us who had attended him.

Our two brigantines were now afloat on the lake, fully equipped, and manned by expert sailors, and were found to obey both sail and oar to a wish. When Montezuma learnt this, he requested to go a-hunting to a certain district which was full of game, all other persons being prohibited from hunting there under pain of death. Cortes granted permission, giving warning that his life would pay the forfeit of the smallest attempt to escape, and offered him the use of our ships to convey him to the hunting ground, which he accepted with much pleasure. The king and his suit embarked in the swiftest of the two vessels, and the other accommodated his son and a number of nobles. Four of our captains attended the king, with a guard of two hundred soldiers, and four brass guns, with their ammunition and artillerymen, were embarked on the occasion. The wind was fresh, and our sailors took great delight in exerting their utmost skill. Our ships seemed to fly along the lake, and left a prodigious multitude of the canoes of the Mexicans far behind. Montezuma landed at the place kept for his hunting, which abounded in game, so that he soon procured a great quantity of various kinds, such as deer, hares, and rabbits; and having satisfied himself with sport, he reimbarked and came back to Mexico. We discharged our artillery during the voyage, which gave him much amusement. He delighted us all by his affability and noble behaviour, and was held by every one of us in the highest respect. It happened one day, while three of our captains were in his presence, that a hawk flew into the apartment in pursuit of a quail, both these birds and doves being bred about the palace. On this occasion our officers and soldiers admired the beauty and fine flight of the hawk, and Montezuma was curious to know the subject of their discourse: It was accordingly explained to him, as likewise that we were accustomed to tame hawks, and to fly them from our hands in pursuit of game. On this Montezuma gave immediate orders to have the hawk caught for us, and the very same bird was caught and brought to us next morning.

Cacamatzin prince of Tezcuco, the largest town in the empire next to Mexico, took great umbrage at hearing that his uncle

uncle Montezuma had been kept many days prisoner by the Spaniards, and that we had opened the treasury of his ancestors. He therefore called a meeting of his principal vassals, and of the neighbouring princes or great feudatories of the Mexican empire, among whom was the lord of Matlatzinco, a renowned warrior and near relation of Montezuma, who was reported to have some pretensions to the throne. His intention in summoning these princes was to persuade them to assemble their forces, in order to attack us, and on making this proposal to the assembled chiefs, he of Matlatzinco offered to concur with his whole force, on condition that they would raise him to the throne of Mexico. But Cacamatzin alleged that he had a preferable claim to that dignity, and declared he would destroy the Spaniards with his own forces, for which purpose he entered into arrangements with his partizans in Mexico. The whole of this plan was reported to Montezuma, who immediately commanded his nephew Cacamatzin to desist from his preparations, and communicated the information he had received to Cortes, who had already received some notice of what was going forwards, but not to the full extent. Cortes immediately proposed to go at the head of a detachment of the Spaniards, and a large body of Mexican troops, and to destroy Tezcuco; but as this proposal did not please Montezuma, Cortes sent a message to Cacamatzin, requiring him to desist from his warlike preparations, and declaring his wish to have him for a friend. Cacamatzin answered, that he would not become the dupe of plausible words like others, and meant soon to pay us a visit, when he would listen to what we had to say. In a second message, Cortes warned him not to proceed to hostilities, which would certainly occasion the death of his uncle; but he replied, that he cared neither for Montezuma nor Cortes, and was determined to act as he thought proper.

Cacamatzin had a brother named Cuitcuitzcatzin, who resided in Mexico, having been obliged to take refuge there in consequence of a family quarrel. As this was known to us, Cortes proposed that Cacamatzin should be brought to Mexico, where we would seize him unless he agreed to preserve the peace, or might substitute his brother in the government of Tezcuco. Montezuma agreed to send for him, and assured us, if he refused to come, he would give orders to bring him by force. Cortes thanked the king for this instance of his

his fidelity, declaring that he now only remained in Mexico to protect him against his rebellious subjects, and would feel happy to reinstate him in his own palace, but could not prevail on the rest of the Spanish captains to agree to this measure. Montezuma said in reply, that he would immediately transmit information to Cacamatzin, that his present residence was entirely of his own free will, and by the advice of their gods; for Montezuma was perfectly aware of the simulation of Cortes in his declarations, and endeavoured to fight him with his own weapons. He accordingly sent a message to the prince in the proposed terms; but Cacamatzin understood the manner in which his uncle was constrained to act, and declared his determination to assail our quarters within four days, saying that Montezuma was a despicable monarch, for having neglected to attack us at the Port of Chalco, as he had advised. That he was resolved to be avenged of the wrongs which we had heaped upon Montezuma and his country, and that if the throne of Mexico should fall to his lot during the contest, he would liberally reward all who assisted him against the Spanish invaders. Several of the Mexican chiefs who were along with Cacamatzin, expressed their scruples about entering into war without the orders of their legitimate sovereign, and proposed to send to him for instructions. Cacamatzin was enraged at this proposal, as adverse to his views of assuming the crown of the Mexican empire, and immediately ordered three of the most refractory into custody; by which procedure the rest were intimidated into compliance with his plans. He then sent a message to Montezuma, representing the disgrace into which he had fallen, by joining himself with wizards and magicians, and declared his resolution to destroy us all. Montezuma was much offended by the proud independence assumed by his nephew, whom he now resolved to circumvent and make prisoner. For this purpose he entrusted his signet to six of his captains, whom he commanded to shew it to certain other leaders among his subjects, who were not well affected to the prince, and to communicate to them his orders to seize Cacamatzin and bring him prisoner to Mexico. These men went accordingly to where Cacamatzin was consulting with the confederate chiefs on the arrangement of his expedition; and shewing the royal signet with which they were entrusted, they secured him and five of his principal chiefs without opposition, and brought them away to Mexico. Cacamatzin, being

brought

brought into the presence of Montezuma, was reproached by him for his disobedience and treason, and then delivered over to Cortes; but the other prisoners were released.

Arrangements were immediately made for raising Cuitcuitzcatzin, one of the brothers of Cacamatzin, to the principality of Tezcuco, who was accordingly invested with this dignity in the presence of Montezuma, and sent over with a splendid retinue to take possession of the government [8]. This important business being completed to our entire satisfaction, we continued to reside in Mexico, paying our court to Montezuma with the utmost demonstrations of respect, yet detaining him always a prisoner in our quarters.

Cortes now resumed a proposal which had been formerly made, for Montezuma acknowledging the sovereignty of our emperor over him and his dominions; to which Montezuma replied, that he would summon a council of all his dependent princes, which he did accordingly, and almost the whole of them attended in the course of ten days. Among a few who absented themselves on this occasion, was the chief of Matlatzinco, who has been already mentioned as renowned for his warlike prowess. He sent back an answer, that he would neither obey the summons nor pay any more tribute. Montezuma was much incensed by this contumacious message from his vassal, and sent officers to apprehend him, but they were unable to succeed. The princes and feudatories being all assembled, Montezuma reminded them of the ancient prophecies, by which it was foretold to their ancestors, that a people was to come from the region of the rising sun, to whom the empire of the country was to be transferred. He added, that he believed the Spaniards to be the people spoken of in that prophecy; and had sacrificed to his gods in vain to give him a distinct revelation on the subject, but they referred him to the former responses, and commanded him to ask no more. From all this he concluded that they willed him to yield obedience to the king of Castile, who was the sovereign of these strangers. "I now," said he in conclusion, "beseech you to agree to this submission, which is required of me by the Spaniards. During the eighteen years which

8 Diaz says that he assumed the name of Don Carlos on this occasion; but does not allege even that he had been baptised. This name was probably merely imposed upon him by the Spanish soldiery; or he may have acquired it on becoming a Christian after the conquest of Mexico was completed.--E.

which I have reigned, I have ever been a kind monarch to you, and you have always been faithful subjects. Since our gods will have it so, let no one refuse this instance of obedience which I now ask." The princes, with many sighs and tears, promised to do every thing he might desire. Montezuma, who was still more affected than they, sent a message to inform Cortes, that he and his princes would tender their allegiance to our emperor next day. This was accordingly done at the time appointed, in presence of all our officers and many of our soldiers, none of whom could refrain from tears, at beholding the distress and agitation of the great and generous Montezuma on this humiliating occasion.

Some time afterwards, when Cortes and his captains were conversing with Montezuma on various topics, the general made inquiry relative to the gold mines of the empire, when Montezuma informed him that the richest of these were in the province of Zacatula or Zacatollan, and said that the gold was procured by washing the earth, the small grains of metal sinking to the bottom during the operation. He also said that it was obtained from two rivers in the province of Guztepeque, where the natives were not subjects to his empire; but, if Cortes chose to send some troops to that place, he would order his officers to accompany them. Cortes accordingly sent the pilot Umbria and two soldiers to examine the mines of Zacatula; and sent his relation Pizarro, to the territories of Chinantla and Zapoteca. Pizarro was then a young man, and at that time his name and that of Peru, now so famous, were both equally unknown. Pizarro, who was one of our captains, took with him four soldiers who were used to mining, and four Mexican nobles; and Montezuma presented Cortes with a map of the whole northern, or rather eastern coast of the Mexican empire, admirably represented in painting, extending at least an hundred and forty leagues, all the way to Tabasco. Among the rivers said to produce gold, was that of Huatzocoalco, which Cortes wished to have examined, and Diego de Ordas offering himself for this purpose, was reluctantly accepted by Cortes, as he was a person on whom he depended for sound judgment and wholesome advice on occasions of importance. Before his departure, Montezuma told Ordas, that the power of the crown of Mexico did not extend over the country to which he was going, but that he was welcome to the assistance of the frontier garrisons. Umbria returned first from his mission,

 bringing

bringing with him gold to the value of three hundred crowns and reported that the mines might be made very productive, if they were as expertly managed as those of Hispaniola and Cuba. Two principal persons of the district accompanied him to Mexico, who brought a present of gold to the value of about a hundred crowns, and offered to submit themselves and country to the sovereignty of our emperor. Umbria and his companions described the country which they had visited as extremely rich and populous, and he and his companions appeared to have done something handsome for themselves on the expedition, which Cortes winked at in order to make up for some former differences.

Ordas, on his return, said that he had passed through very populous districts, in all of which he was well received. That he found several bodies of Mexican troops on the frontiers, of whose outrages the natives of the country made heavy complaints, on which account he had severely reprehended the commanders of the troops, threatening them with a similar punishment with what had been inflicted on the lord of Nauhtlan. He had sounded the river of Huatzcoalco, where he found three fathoms water on the bar at low tide in the shallowest part, and still deeper within, where there was a place very proper for a naval establishment. The caciques and natives treated him with much hospitality, and offered themselves as vassals to our emperor, but complained loudly against the exactions of Montezuma and his officers, and pointed out a place where they had lately slain many of the Mexican troops, which they had named *Cuilonemequi*, or the Place of Slaughter of the Mexicans, on whom they bestowed the most opprobrious epithets. He represented the soil of the country as well fitted for tillage and the rearing of cattle, and the port as well situated for trade with Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica; but as inconvenient, from its distance from Mexico, and unhealthy owing to the morasses in its vicinity. Pizarro returned from Tustepeque or Tzapotecapan, with gold in grains to the value of a thousand crowns. He reported, that in going into the mountains inhabited by the Chinantlans, they flew to arms and would not permit the Mexicans to enter into their country, threatening to put them all to death; but admitted him and his Spaniards with great attention. He brought several of the chiefs of that country along with him to Mexico, who wished to shake off the Mexican yoke, and to become subjects to our emperor. Cortes then

inquired at Pizarro for the soldiers who had accompanied him, when Pizarro answered, that finding the country rich and the people friendly, he had left them to make a plantation of cocoa, and to explore the rivers and mines. Cortes said nothing to him in public, but gave him a severe private reprimand for employing the soldiers in such foolish pursuits, contrary to his orders, and immediately sent a message commanding their return to head-quarters.

Cortes now proposed to Montezuma to order a general contribution in gold to be collected through the whole of his dominions, as a tribute to our emperor, and also that he should deliver up his treasure for the same purpose. Montezuma accordingly sent orders to his officers in those districts where the mines were situated, commanding them immediately to transmit a certain quantity of gold plates, of the size usually paid as tribute, two of which were sent as patterns. He remarked at the same time, that there were many districts of the empire from which gold was not to be expected in any considerable quantity, as they had no mines, and the natives had only such golden toys among them as they had inherited from their ancestors. Much gold was immediately transmitted to Mexico from the rich provinces in compliance with the order; but when it was communicated to the refractory lord of Matlatzinco, formerly mentioned, he haughtily answered, that he would pay no tribute, for he had as good a right as Montezuma to the throne of Mexico. Montezuma was much enraged at this insolent message, and immediately sent some trusty officers with his signet, who succeeded in apprehending this redoubted chief. On being brought prisoner into the presence of the king, he behaved with so much insolence that Montezuma ordered him to be put to death; but Cortes interceded for him, and got his punishment transmuted to imprisonment. He even endeavoured to make a friend of this chief, and proposed to have him set at liberty, but Montezuma insisted that he should be kept in chains along with Cacamatzin.

Twenty days after the orders had been issued for collecting the tribute, it was all brought to Mexico, on which Montezuma summoned Cortes into his presence, along with the captains and the soldiers who formed his usual guard, and addressed us as follows: "Being indebted to your great king, whom I much esteem for having sent you as his ambassadors to me from so great a distance, and as I am con-

vinced by the prophecies transmitted to us by our ancestors, and confirmed by our gods, that he is destined to rule over us, take this gold, which is all I could collect on so short a notice, and also the treasure which I inherited from my ancestors which you have already seen; send all this to your emperor, and let it be recorded in your chronicles that this is the tribute from his vassal Montezuma. Besides all this, I shall give you for your monarch, a quantity of our most valuable jewels, which we call *calchihuis* [9], every one of which is worth two loads of gold, and three tubes for shooting darts or pellets, so richly adorned with jewels that he will be pleased with them. Accept all this as an instance of my good will, for it is the last of my treasure." We all immediately took off our helmets, and gave our hearty thanks to Montezuma for his munificent and liberal gift, which Cortes promised should be presented to the emperor with a just representation of the merits of the donor. We were employed for three days in taking to pieces the gold contained in the various ornamental articles in the concealed treasury, which was now delivered up to us by the command of Montezuma, in which we were assisted by the royal goldsmiths from the town of Escapuzalco. When separated and weighed, these articles weighed to the value of above 600,000 crowns, besides many other articles of value, and exclusive of gold in plates and bars, and in its rough state as brought from the mines. All this gold was melted down by the goldsmiths, and cast into bars of three fingers breadth, all of which were stamped with the royal arms, with our entire approbation. The rest of the present of Montezuma was worthy of great admiration, consisting of the jewels called *calchihuis*, ornamented tubes covered with gold and jewels, beautiful embroideries of pearls and feathers, plumes of feathers, and an endless variety of rich manufactures; and it was unanimously agreed by us all not to take these rich ornaments to pieces.

After the royal officers had weighed and valued the gold, which exceeded, as I have already mentioned, 600,000 crowns, exclusive of the silver and other ornamental articles, it was proposed

9 It is impossible now to say what were these jewels so much valued by the Mexicans. Clavigero, I. 422, enumerates among their precious stones, "Emeralds, amethysts, cornelians, turquoises, and others not known in Europe." In another passage, I. 424, he mentions many small red stones similar to rubies, as among the Mexican curiosities transmitted to Charles V. by Cortes.—E.

proposed to deduct the royal fifth, and to distribute the shares among the officers and soldiers. Cortes proposed to postpone the division till we acquired more treasure, and had more exact weights: But the soldiers were clamorous for an immediate division, as we perceived that above a third part had disappeared since the various articles were taken to pieces, Cortes and the captains and others being continually carrying it away and concealing it for their own use. It was at length agreed to make the division next day, when it was still found to exceed 600,000 crowns in weight. On making the division, Cortes in the *first* place caused a fifth to be laid aside for his majesty; *secondly*, a fifth for himself, as had been agreed upon; *thirdly*, a portion to reimburse the naval expenditure incurred by Velasquez, the destruction of the ships, and all the expences of the expedition from Cuba; *fourthly*, for the expences of the agents whom we had sent to Spain; *fifthly*, for the shares of our companions who were in garrison at Villa Rica; *sixthly*, for the value of the horses which had been killed; *seventhly*, for the reverend Father Olmeda and our captains; *eighthly*, double shares for the cavalry, musketeers, and crossbow-men. When all these deductions were made from the stock, the shares which remained for each soldier were hardly worth acceptance, not exceeding 100 crowns a-man. We were obliged to submit, having no one to appeal to for justice; yet many were very clamorous, whom Cortes secretly endeavoured to appease, giving a little to one and a little to another in private, and feeding all with fair promises. Our captains got chains of gold made for them by the Mexican workmen. Cortes did the same, and had a superb service of gold plate made for his table. Many of our soldiers, who had been fortunate in secreting plunder, had golden ornaments made for their use, and gave themselves up to deep gaming, for which purpose they made cards from drum-heads; and thus we passed our time in Mexico. One Cardenas, a pilot, who had a wife and children, seeing that all the immense treasure of Montezuma had dwindled down to paltry shares of a hundred crowns, made loud complaints of the injustice he and all of us had experienced. On this coming to the ears of Cortes, he called us together, and gave us a long honied speech, wondering how we should be so clamorous about a paltry sum of gold, as the whole country, with all its rich mines, would soon be ours, by which we would all have enough to make us lords and princes, and I know not

all

all what. After this he distributed presents secretly among the most clamorous, and promised Cardenas to send home 300 crowns to his wife and children.

All men are desirous of acquiring riches, and the desire generally increases with the acquisition. As it was well known that a great many valuable pieces of gold had been abstracted from the treasury, suspicion naturally fell upon several persons who appeared to have more gold than their shares amounted to. Among these, it was noticed that Velasquez de Leon had some large chains of gold, and many trinkets and ornaments of that metal, in the hands of the Mexican workmen, which the treasurer Mexia claimed as having been purloined. De Leon resisted this, alleging that it had been given him by Cortes before the gold was run into bars. Mexia replied that Cortes had concealed enough, and had already taken too much from the soldiers, without giving him so great a quantity, and insisted on restitution. Both were valiant men, and their quarrel rose to such a height, that they drew their swords, and each of them received two wounds before they could be parted. Cortes ordered them both under arrest and to be put in chains; but spoke privately to De Leon, who was his intimate friend, to submit quietly, and released Mexia in consideration of his holding the office of treasurer. Velasquez was a strong active man, and used to walk much in the apartment where he was confined, and as Montezuma heard the rattling of his chains, he inquired who it was, and interceded with Cortes for his liberation. Cortes told him that Velasquez was a mad fellow, who would go about robbing the Mexicans of their gold if not confined. Montezuma replied, if that were all, he would supply his wants, and Cortes affected to release him as a favour to the king, but banished him to Cholula, whence he returned in six days, richer than before by the king's bounty.

About this time, the king offered to give Cortes one of the princesses his daughter in marriage. Cortes received this offer with much gratitude, but suggested the propriety of having her in the first place instructed in the Christian religion, with which Montezuma complied, though he still continued attached to his own false worship and brutal human sacrifices. Cortes and his captains were much scandalized by this persistence of Montezuma in idolatry, and thought it their duty as Christians, to run even the risk of occasioning a rebellion of the Mexicans by destroying the idols and planting the

the true cross in their place; or if that could not be now accomplished, to make a chapel for Christian worship in the temple. On this determination, seven officers and soldiers attended Cortes and Father Olmedo to wait upon Montezuma, to whom they communicated their wish, and their resolution to employ force if necessary. The king was much alarmed, and earnestly begged leave to consult with his priests on the subject. Cortes seemed touched with his situation, and made a signal to the officers and soldiers to retire, leaving him and Olmedo with the king. He then told him, that he would endeavour to prevail on the officers to be satisfied for the present, if a part of the great temple was appropriated for the reception of an altar and crucifix, by which his majesty would soon be convinced of the falsehood of his erroneous worship[10]. To this proposal Montezuma reluctantly consented, with the appearance of much agitation and deep sorrow; and, an altar and crucifix being erected, mass was solemnly celebrated in the new chapel, for the care of which a proper person was appointed.

The whole time of our stay in this city was one continued series of alarms, sufficient to have destroyed us if we had not been supported by divine interposition. By this last measure, through the representations of the priests, acting on the prejudices of the people, our dangers were much increased. Their gods, as the priests alleged, threatened to desert them, unless we were destroyed for this violation of the temple, and an universal determination was formed to obey this manifestation of their commands. This resolution of the people was conveyed to Montezuma by the priests, and all his principal warriors; who, besides this subject of complaint on the score of religion, made many other representations respecting our misconduct, ever since our arrival in the empire. The page Orguetilla communicated many alarming circumstances which he had observed, to Cortes, respecting frequent secret conferences between Montezuma and his priests and nobles, and the angry and melancholy appearances which he had frequently seen

10 We are duly sensible of the divine super-excellence of Christianity, and the gross barbarism of idolatry joined with abominable human sacrifices. Yet, the mere change of two crossed sticks and the images of Saint Somebody or Saint Nobody, for the idols of the Mexicans, under pretence of introducing the pure religion of the meek and holy Jesus, seems in our humble opinion a mere *qui pro quo;* and, when taken in conjunction with the proposed conversion by military execution, and the introduction of the bloody tribunal of the Inquisition, not one iota less idolatrous or less barbarous.—E.

seen the king assume on these occasions. Cortes was alarmed by this intelligence, and immediately waited on the king accompanied by his interpreters and five of his captains. Montezuma seemed much distressed during this conference, and declared to Cortes that he was extremely grieved at the manifestation of the will of his gods that we should all be put to death or expelled from Mexico: He therefore, as our sincere friend, earnestly recommended that we should not run the risk of incurriug the indignation of his subjects, but should save our lives by a retreat whilst that remained within our power. Cortes and the rest were naturally much alarmed at this; but Cortes answered that he was principally concerned, because in the first place, he had no vessels for returning into his own country, and in the next place he would be under the necessity of taking Montezuma along with him, that he might present him to our emperor. He therefore entreated Montezuma to use every influence to restrain his priests and warriors from proceeding to violence, until we had time to build three ships for our conveyance, and offered immediately to send our ship-builders to fell timber and construct the vessels on the coast, requesting the king to order the assistance of his carpenters for this purpose, that there might be no delay. He repeated his request, that Montezuma would employ all his influence to prevent any insurrection in the city, and his endeavours to appease his priests and gods, providing that no human sacrifices were resorted to for that purpose. Martin Lopez, our principal ship-builder, was immediately dispatched to Villa Rica to commence building the three ships, which were put on the stocks without delay. During this interval, we remained in Mexico full of terror of being attacked by the whole force of a numerous and warlike people, exasperated by the insults we had heaped on their sovereign and their religious belief. Our apprehensions were continually kept alive by the information we received from Donna Marina, and the page Orteguilla; who, by understanding the language, obtained much information which must otherwise have escaped our knowledge. We kept however constant guard over Montezuma, and the strictest military discipline in our quarters, sleeping always in our armour, and having our horses saddled and bridled every night. Without meaning it as any boast, I may say this of myself, that my armour became as easy and familiar to me as if it had been a soft down bed. And so habituated am I to this, that now in my old age, when I make the

the circuit of my district, I never take a bed along with me, unless attended by stranger gentlemen, when I do so merely to avoid the appearance of poverty or avarice. Yet, even when I have one, I always sleep in my clothes; neither can I rest throughout the night, but get up to contemplate the stars, walking about without hat or cap, as I used to do on guard; yet thank God I never get cold, nor am I the worse for this practice. This is to be a true soldier! My readers must pardon this digression, which does not proceed from vanity, but to let him know what kind of men we were, the real conquerors of Mexico [11].

Section IX.

Expedition of Narvaez to supersede Cortes in the command, and occurrences till the Defeat of that Officer by Cortes at Chempoalla.

The Bishop of Burgos, who was president of the council of the Indies, bore unlimited sway in that department of the Spanish government during the absence of the emperor in Flanders. Owing to the representations of Velasquez against Cortes, he sent orders to him to seize and make us all prisoners at every hazard, as rebellious subjects. Velasquez therefore fitted out a fleet of nineteen ships from the Island of Cuba, in which he embarked an army of fourteen hundred soldiers, eighty of whom were cavalry, eighty musketeers, and eighty crossbow-men, with twenty pieces of cannon, and all necessary ammunition and appointments, giving the command in chief to Pamphilo de Narvaez. Such was his animosity against Cortes and us for having thrown off our dependance upon him, that he made a journey of above seventy leagues from the Havanna on purpose to expedite the preparations. At this time, the royal audience of St Domingo and the brethren of the order of St Jeronimo, being satisfied of our loyalty and great exertions in the service of God and the emperor

11 Bernal Diaz neglects to accommodate his readers with the very useful appendage of dates; it therefore may be proper to remark that the Spaniards entered the city of Mexico for the first time on the 8th November 1519; and as Cortes left it in the beginning of May 1520, in his march against Narvaez, he had now spent about six months in the capital of a mighty empire, with hardly 450 soldiers.—E.

emperor, sent over the oydor Lucas Vasquez de Aillon to Cuba, with positive injunctions to stop the sailing of the armament against us; but as Velasquez was confident in the support of the bishop of Burgos, he gave no heed to the orders communicated to him by Aillon, who therefore went along with the armament, that he might endeavour as much as possible to prevent injury to the public service by his mediation and influence, and be at hand if necessary, to take possession of the country for the emperor, in virtue of his office.

Narvaez arrived safe with his whole fleet in the harbour of St Juan de Ulua, except that he lost one small vessel during the voyage. Soon after his arrival, the soldiers who had been sent by Cortes to that part of the country in search of mines, went on board, and it is said gave thanks to God for being delivered from the command of Cortes and the dangers of the city of Mexico. Finding them in this mood, Narvaez ordered them to be plentifully supplied with wine, to make them more communicative. Cervantes the jester, who was one of these soldiers, under pretence of facetiousness, exposed to him all the discontents of our soldiers respecting the distribution of the treasure we had obtained, and informed him also of the bad state of the garrison in Villa Rica under Sandoval. The arrival of this new armament was soon communicated to Montezuma, who concealed the intelligence for some time from Cortes, and opened a private correspondence with Narvaez, to whom he sent many rich presents. Narvaez, in his correspondence with Montezuma, said every thing that was bad against Cortes and his troops, representing the whole of us as outcasts and robbers, and that the emperor, hearing of our evil conduct, and that we detained the great Montezuma in custody, had sent the present expedition for the express purpose of liberating him and putting us all to death. This intelligence gave great satisfaction to Montezuma, who thought we must necessarily be all destroyed, as he had got an exact account of their force represented to him in paintings: He accordingly transmitted very magnificent presents to Narvaez, and could ill conceal the satisfaction he had derived from the intelligence. Montezuma concealed the news of this armament from Cortes, who observed and was astonished at the alteration which it had produced on the kings manners and behaviour. At length however, from the circumstance of Cortes making him two visits

visits in one day, Montezuma became apprehensive of the general procuring intelligence from any other quarter, and told him the news, pretending only to have just heard of it himself. Cortes expressed the utmost joy at the intelligence, and Montezuma shewed him the representations which had been transmitted to him, by which he learnt every thing he wished to know on the subject. He immediately left the king and communicated the intelligence to the troops, who got immediately under arms, and fired several vollies in token of our joy. We soon noticed, however, that Cortes was exceedingly pensive when alone, of which we could not divine the cause; till he soon afterwards convinced us, and explained that the armament was evidently designed against us; and he now, partly by promises and partly by gifts, as from his bounty of what was ours by good right, made interest with us to stand firmly by him in the approaching contest with Narvaez.

From what had been told him by Cervantes and our other deserters, Narvaez was induced to send a deputation to Sandoval, demanding him to surrender the port of Villa Rica. He appointed three persons on this errand, Guavera a clergyman of abilities, Amarga, a relation of Velasquez, and one Vergara, a scrivener. Sandoval had received information of the arrival of the armament, and prepared to defend his post, as he rightly guessed that it was destined to act against us. He sent off all his invalids to an Indian village at some distance, and exhorting his soldiers to stand by him, he erected a gibbet, and placed a guard on the road to Chempoalla. On the arrival of the deputation from Narvaez at Villa Rica, they were astonished to meet none but Indians, as Sandoval had ordered all the soldiers to remain in their quarters, and remained at home himself; they knew not well how to proceed, but at length guessing by the appearance of the house that it belonged to the governor, they went in. Guavera immediately began the conversation, by representing the greatness of the force under Narvaez, and its object, which was to arrest Cortes and all his followers as traitors, and concluded by summoning Sandoval to surrender himself and his post to general Narvaez. Sandoval was much displeased, and told him, if it were not for the protection of his holy function, he would punish his insolence in calling those traitors who were more faithful subjects than either Narvaez or his employer Velasquez. He desired him to carry his demand

mand to Cortes at Mexico, who would settle the business with him at that place. Guavera insisted to execute the commission on which he was sent, and ordered the scrivener Vergara to produce the authority under which they acted. But Sandoval stopped him, saying, "I know not whether your papers be true or false; but if you attempt to read any here I will order you to receive a hundred lashes." On this, Guevera exclaimed, "Why do you mind these traitors? read your commission." Sandoval, calling him a lying rascal, ordered them all to be seized: On which a number of Indians, who had been previously instructed, came in and threw nets over them, and instantly set out with them on their backs for Mexico, to which they were carried post by relays of Indians, through the several large and populous towns by the way, with a rapidity that confounded them, hardly knowing whether they were alive or dead, the whole seeming as if done by enchantment. Sandoval sent Pedro de Solis to accompany them, by whom he wrote a hasty letter to Cortes, giving him an account of all he knew. When the general got notice of their arrival in Mexico, he ordered us all under arms, released them immediately from their trammels, and made an apology for the rudeness of Sandoval, whom he greatly blamed. He entertained them with great hospitality and respect, giving them plenty of gold, and sent them back in a few days as gentle as lambs, who had come out against him as furious as lions.

Our general was one whose resources were never exhausted, and it must not be concealed that his officers and soldiers supported him through all his difficulties by our valour in the field and our wisdom in council. On this occasion, we determined that it was proper to send letters to Narvaez and others of the new army, which they might receive previous to the return of Guavera. In these, we earnestly urged that no rash steps might be taken to endanger our general interest, by inciting the Indians to rise upon us; and held out every inducement of interest and friendship to the followers of Narvaez to bring them over to our party, not forgetting to treat secretly with such as we thought might be easiest wrought upon, as both Guavera and Vergara had informed Cortes that Narvaez was by no means on good terms with his officers, among whom gold well applied would work wonders. In his letters to Narvaez, Cortes adjured him by their former friendship, not to give encouragement to the Mexicans to rise

rise and destroy us, seeing that they were ready to have recourse to any extremity to liberate Montezuma, whose dispositions were much altered for the worse since the arrival of this new armament, and the opening a correspondence between him and Narvaez. He was convinced, he said, that the expressions which Narvaez had been reported to use, could never have come from so wise a man, but must have been fabricated by such wretches as the buffoon Cervantes; and he concluded by offering an unlimited submission to the authority of Narvaez. Cortes wrote also to the secretary Andres de Duero, and Lucas Vasques the oydor, taking care to accompany his letters with valuable presents of gold. On receiving the letter from Cortes, Narvaez turned it into ridicule, handing it about among his officers, speaking of us all as traitors whom he would put to death without mercy. He declared he would cut off and eat the ears of Cortes, and a great deal of such braggart nonsense, and of course made no answer to the letters. Just at this time Father Olmedo arrived, bringing with him the private letters and presents. He went in the first place to wait upon Narvaez, intending to assure him that Cortes would be proud to serve under his command; but Narvaez would not listen to him, and did nothing but abuse both Cortes and him. He accordingly desisted from that part of his commission which related to an agreement with Narvaez, and applied himself to the distribution of presents among the officers with so much judgment and success, that he soon won over all the principal officers to our party. If the oydor Vasques was originally disposed to favour Cortes, he was entirely so on seeing the magnificent presents which were now distributed with so much liberality; which formed a striking contrast with the avarice of Narvaez, who used to enjoin his major domo to take heed that not a mantle were missing, as he had marked down every article committed to his charge. This penuriousness set all his officers against him, which he attributed to the intrigues of Vasques; and as there was a difference between them, because Narvaez neglected to inform him respecting every thing sent in by order of Montezuma, of which he ought to have been informed as oydor, an irreconcileable quarrel ensued; and depending on the favour of the bishop of Burgos, Narvaez caused the oyder to be arrested, and sent prisoner to Cuba or Spain, I know not which. But during the voyage, Vasques prevailed on the captain of the ship to land him in Hispaniola,

Hispaniola, where he so represented the treatment he had received to the Audience and the Jeronimites, that they complained to the council of Castile, but ineffectually, owing to the influence of the bishop of Burgos in favour of Narvaez. About this time too, a gentleman named Oblanco, made remonstrances to Narvaez respecting his violence, saying a good deal in favour of Cortes and his troops, with which Narvaez was so much offended that he threw him into prison; which Oblanco took so much to heart that he died three days after.

Soon after the arrival of Father Olmedo, Guevara and his two companions returned from Mexico, and launched out in praise of Cortes, reporting the many expressions of respect he had used in speaking of Narvaez; and, commending the services he had already performed to our emperor, they expatiated on the advantages which would result from uniting their forces, instead of fomenting a civil war. All this put Narvaez into such a rage that he refused to see them any more, and commanded them to be silent on this hateful subject. They carried their discourse therefore among their comrades; and when they saw how well furnished with gold these men had returned from Mexico, they began seriously to wish themselves in the army of Cortes.

Narvaez now quitted the coast with his army and took possession of the town of Chempoalla; immediately on his arrival seizing by force the young women who had been given to the officers of Cortes by their parents, with all the gold and mantles which had been left in the custody of the fat cacique along with the ladies, when we set out on our march to Mexico. When the cacique complained of this to Narvaez, and of the robberies committed by his soldiers, saying that Cortes and his soldiers conducted themselves in quite a different manner, a bragging fellow called Salvatierra exclaimed, "See what fear these Indians are in for the sorry fellow Cortes!" yet this boaster, who was so ready with his tongue, was the most cowardly wretch I ever beheld, when we came afterwards to attack the army of Narvaez. About this time, Narvaez transmitted to Cortes a copy of the commission he had received from the governor of Cuba, the particulars of which I shall detail hereafter. Cortes received regular intelligence of every thing done by Narvaez, partly from the friends he had made in the adverse army and partly from Sandoval, who now informed him that five persons of

consideration had joined from the army of Narvaez, who alleged for their reason, that being the relations of the oydor Vasquez, who had met with such injurious treatment, they had little hopes of being themselves well used; and he added, that these persons said Narvaez meant very soon to march to Mexico against us. On this being made known to such of us as Cortes used generally to consult with, he agreed with us in opinion that it was advisable for us to march immediately against Narvaez and his army, leaving the command in Mexico with Alvarado; and we left under his charge all those men who were not inclined to be of the present hazardous expedition, and all whom we suspected to have an inclination for the party of Narvaez or Velasquez. We also left with Alvarado a sufficient supply of provisions, in case the Mexicans should refuse to supply him, and because the late harvest had been deficient, in consequence of too dry a season. Our quarters were strengthened by the addition of a good pallisade, and, besides four heavy guns, we left a garrison of eighty-three men, twenty-four of whom were armed with muskets or cross-bows: a very inadequate force, surely, for keeping the great and populous city of Mexico in awe.

Previous to our departure, Cortes paid a visit to Montezuma, who questioned him very anxiously about the difference between him and Narvaez, as both were vassals of the same sovereign, and desired an explanation of the charges which the new comers had made against us, that we were outcasts and traitors. He likewise asked if he could serve us in any way, expressing an apprehension of our safety, considering the great superiority under Narvaez. Cortes replied in a cheerful manner, that he had not sooner informed him of our intended departure, lest it might give him concern; that we certainly were all subjects to the same monarch, but that the report of our being traitors and fugitives was utterly false, as we had come into his country with full authority from our sovereign. As to the other party destroying us by their superiority in numbers, that did not depend on them, but on the will of our Lord and his holy mother, who would support us. He added, that our sovereign ruled over many different countries, the inhabitants of some of which were more valiant than those of others; that we were all true Castilians, while the commander of our opponents was a Biscayan, and his majesty would soon see the difference between us, as he trusted by the blessing of God to bring them all back as prisoners. He concluded

cluded by recommending in the strongest terms to Montezuma, to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any insurrection in the city during our absence; as, on his return, he would assuredly punish all in a most exemplary manner who behaved amiss. Montezuma promised to do every thing which Cortes required, and even offered to assist us with five thousand of his warriors, which Cortes politely declined, knowing indeed that the king had not that in his power, if he even wished to have done so. Then requesting Montezuma to cause due respect to be paid to that part of the great temple which had been consecrated to the Christian worship, he embraced Montezuma with much cordiality and took leave. He then called Alvarado and the garrison which was to remain in Mexico, all of whom he strictly enjoined to be extremely watchful, and to take special care not to allow Montezuma to escape; promising to make them all rich on his return, if he found they had done their duty. On this occasion of leaving Mexico, he left the clergyman Juan Diaz with Alvarado, and some other persons whose fidelity he questioned.

We began our march from Mexico in the beginning of May 1520 [1], making our first halt at Cholula. From that place we sent a message to the senate of Tlascala, requiring them to assist us with four thousand of their warriors. They sent us twenty loads of fowls, saying that they were ready at any time to join us in war against Indians, but begged to be excused if we were marching against our own countrymen. At this time likewise, Cortes sent orders to Sandoval to join our little army with the whole of his garrison that was fit for duty, at a place named Tampinequeta or Mitalaquita [2], twelve leagues from Chempoalla. We marched in regular order without baggage, having always two confidential soldiers in advance about a days journey, who were directed not to keep the main road, but to go always by those in which calvary could not march, and whose especial business was

1 The date is supplied in the text from attentive consideration of dates mentioned by Diaz in the sequel, and in this date Clavigero, II. 97, agrees. Diaz gives no account of the strength of Cortes on the present occasion, but afterwards mentions 206 soldiers, with five horsemen and two gunners, independent of 70 more who joined under Sandoval from the garrison of Villa Rica. This would make the whole force 283 soldiers, against 1400 who were under the command of Narvaez.—E.

2 No such place is to be found in the map of Clavigero, nor in that recently published by Humbolt.—E.

was to inquire for intelligence respecting the motions of Narvaez, which they were to communicate without delay to Cortes. When we had proceeded a considerable way on our march, one of our advanced parties fell in with four Spaniards belonging to the army of Narvaez, who were bringing to Cortes a copy of his commission and instructions as captain-general in New Spain. On being brought to the general, they saluted him respectfully, and he immediately dismounted in order to hear what they had to say. Alonzo de Mata, who was at the head of the deputation, produced his papers and began to read them; but Cortes stopt him short, demanding if he were a royal notary; as in that case, by shewing his commission, he would be implicitly obeyed, but if he had no such authority, he certainly would not be allowed to read any pretended orders. "The commands of his majesty," said Cortes, "I shall submit to with the utmost humility; but, I desire that the original may be produced." Mata was confounded at these words, as he held no office whatever under the crown, and was entirely at a loss how to proceed. But Cortes relieved him from his embarrassment, telling him our destination, and that he was ready to receive any message from his general, of whom he always spoke with great respect, but would listen to no orders that were not sanctioned by the royal authority. We halted for some time at this place, and Cortes had some private conferences with these agents of Narvaez, with whom he used such powerful arguments that he made them his firm friends. They returned to Chempoalla, quite loud in their praises of Cortes, crying up his generosity to the skies, and made a magnificent report of the riches of our soldiers, many of whom had ornaments of gold on their arms, and some of them gold chains and collars about their necks.

Next day, Sandoval joined with the garrison of Villa Rica, to the number of about seventy men, with whom came the five Spaniards who had deserted from Narvaez, who were very graciously received by Cortes. Sandoval reported that he had sent two of his soldiers, a little time before into the quarters of Narvaez, who went disguised like Indians, having each a load of fruit for sale, and their complexions so completely resembled the natives that they were never suspected. They went immediately to the quarters of the braggart Salvatierra, who gave them a string of yellow beads for their fruit, and sent them to cut grass for his horse on the banks of a small

rivulet.

rivulet. They brought home the last load of grass in the evening, and having fed the horse, they remained about the place till night, listening to the conversation of Salvatierra, whom they heard observing to some of his companions, how luckily they had come at the present moment to deprive the traitor Cortes of the 700,000 crowns which he had obtained from Montezuma. When it was dark, our disguised soldiers got privately out of the house, and took away Salvatierras horse with the saddle and bridle, and meeting another horse by the way, which happened to be lame, they brought it along with them. Cortes laughed heartily at this exploit; and we learned afterwards that Salvatierra gave much amusement to the soldiers of Narvaez, by his absurd behaviour on discovering the trick which had been played upon him.

It was now resolved in a general consultation of our little army, to send a letter in all our names to Narvaez, by the hands of Father Olmedo, of which the following is the purport: "We had rejoiced on hearing of the arrival of so noble a person with so fine an army, by which we expected great advantages to have been derived to our holy religion and to the service of our sovereign; but on the contrary he had reviled us as traitors, and had occasioned the whole country to revolt. Our general had already offered to resign to him whatever provinces or territories he might be inclined to occupy, but nothing would serve him except treating our general and us as rebels, who had proved ourselves by our actions faithful subjects to the emperor. If he came by the authority of a commission from his majesty, we demanded to see the original within three days, for which purpose we had advanced to this place, and were ready to obey it in all humility and reverence: but, if he had no such authority, we required him to return immediately to Cuba, and not to make any attempt to throw the country which we had conquered into confusion; as otherwise we should deem it our bounden duty to send him as a prisoner to his majesty, to be dealt with according to his royal pleasure. We declared that he was answerable for all the lamentable consequences which might follow from his unlawful conduct; and that we had sent this letter by its present conveyance, since no royal notary could undertake to deliver our remonstrance in due form, after the violence which he had committed against his majesties oydor Vasquez, a treasonable act, the perpetrator of which our general was bound to apprehend and bring to

justice, and for which we now cited him to appear and answer for his conduct." This letter was concluded in terms of great respect, and was signed by Cortes, all the captains, and several of the most confidential of the soldiers. It was sent by the reverend Father Olmedo, accompanied by a soldier named Ulagre, whose brother was in the army of Narvaez as commander of his artillery. Olmedo waited on Narvaez with great respect on his arrival at Chempoalla; and proceeded afterwards to execute the secret commission with which he had been entrusted, by a liberal distribution of gold among certain officers of the army of Narvaez, among whom were Rodrigo Mira, Ulagre, and Andres de Duero, which last he invited to pay a visit to Cortes. Narvaez soon began to suspect the real object of Olmedo, and was much inclined to have made him a prisoner: but Duero, who had much influence over Narvaez, both on account of his situation and because they were in some degree related, represented the impropriety of such an outrage against a person of his holy functions, and dissuaded him from doing so. He also suggested to him the great probability of his being able to gain over the soldiers of Cortes to his party, by means of a little policy. By these arguments he appeased Narvaez for the present, and went immediately to Olmedo whom he informed of all that had passed.

Shortly afterwards, Narvaez sent for Olmedo, who requested to speak with him in private; when he told him good-humouredly that he knew his intentions of making him a prisoner, in which he was much to blame, as there was no one whatever more devoted to his service, and he knew that there were many persons with Cortes, who would gladly see their commander delivered up to his excellency; in proof of which he had a letter which Cortes had written at the suggestion of these very persons who wished to deliver him up; which letter was so full of ridiculous absurdities that he was frequently tempted to throw it away, but would now with his permission lay it before him. He accordingly went, as he pretended for the letter, which he alleged was with his baggage, but in reality to bring Duero and others along with him, that they might witness its delivery. In order to contrive an interview with Cortes, Duero proposed that a communication should be opened between Narvaez and him; and Augustin Bermudez, a secret friend of Cortes, proposed that Duero and Salvatierra should be sent on this business, well knowing

knowing the character of Salvatierra to be disinclined to any such employment. It was at last settled that Duero should wait upon Cortes, and invite him to a conference with Narvaez at a convenient place between the two armies, where they might treat of an accommodation and arrange their future measures: And it was resolved that Narvaez should make him prisoner at the conference, for which twenty of his most confidential soldiers were prepared. Duero carried intelligence immediately to Cortes, and Father Olmedo remained at the quarters of Narvaez, having scraped acquaintance with Salvatierra, under pretence of relationship, with whom he dined every day.

On first learning the arrival of Narvaez, Cortes sent one of his soldiers named Barrientos, who had served in Italy and was well acquainted with the management of the pike, to the province of the Chinantlans, who had lately entered into alliance with us. That nation used lances or pikes much longer than ours, having heads of sharpened stone, and Barrientos was directed to obtain 300 of these lances for our use. There was plenty of excellent copper in the country of the Chinantlans, and Barrientos was directed to get two heads of this metal for each lance, and these were executed so ingeniously that they were better made even than the pattern sent. He also obtained a promise of 2000 warriors of that nation to join us, who were to be armed in the same manner, but they did not arrive till after we had overcome Narvaez. All this being settled, Barrientos arrived at our quarters attended by 200 Chinantlans carrying the lances he had procured. On trial these were found excellent, and we were immediately exercised in their use. A muster was now made of our force, which amounted to two hundred and six men, including fife and drum, with five mounted cavalry, two artillery-men, few cross-bows, and fewer musketeers. This being the force, and such the weapons, with which we marched against and defeated the vastly superior army of Narvaez.

I have formerly mentioned that the secretary Duero and the contador Lares had negociated the appointment of Cortes as general of our expedition, and that they were to enjoy equal shares with him in all the treasure he should acquire. Lares was some time dead, and Duero seeing how wealthy Cortes had become, used the colour of the proposed treaty between Narvaez and Cortes, in order to have an opportunity of an interview with Cortes, that he might remind him of their

their agreement. Cortes not only promised faithfully to perform his engagement, but promised him an equal command with himself, and an equal share of territory when the conquest of the country was completed. It was accordingly agreed upon between them, in concurrence with Augustin Bermudez, who was alguazil-major of the army of Narvaez, and many other officers whom I do not name, to get Narvaez put out of the command in favour of Cortes. In order to confirm these in his interest, and to gain over others, Cortes was more liberal than ever in his presents, and on the present occasion loaded the two Indians who attended on Duero with gold. On one of the days of intercourse, after Cortes and Duero had been a considerable time together in private, and had dined, Duero asked him on mounting his horse to go away, if he had any farther commands. To this Cortes replied, "Remember what has been settled between us, or if you don't, I shall be in your quarters before three days, and you shall be the first person at whom I will throw my lance." Duero answered laughing, that he would not fail, and immediately set off for the quarters of Narvaez, where he is reported to have said that Cortes and all his men were ready to submit to the command of Narvaez. Soon after this, Cortes sent for Juan Velasquez de Leon, a person of much consideration, who had always been greatly attached to him, though a near relation of the governor of Cuba. On coming to his quarters, Cortes addressed him in smooth and persuasive terms, which he could always assume at pleasure:—"Duero has informed me that Narvaez is anxious to see you at his quarters, and that it is generally believed I am completely ruined if you go there. Now my worthy friend, I desire you to put on your gold chain, mount your grey mare, take all your gold along with you and more which I will give you; go immediately and fix yourself with Narvaez, and distribute the gold which I confide to you according to my directions." Velasquez was perfectly willing to do as he was desired, but objected to the measure of carrying his own treasure along with him, and after a secret conference with Cortes he set out for Chempoalla. De Leon arrived there by day-break, and as the Indians were rejoiced to see him, the news soon reached Narvaez, who came out to meet and embrace him. After paying his compliments, Velasquez said his only object there was to endeavour to make an amicable arrangement between Narvaez and Cortes; upon which Narvaez took him

aside

aside and asked him how he could propose to treat for such a traitor? Velasquez desired that no such injurious epithet might be used in his presence, as Cortes was a most zealous and faithful officer. Narvaez then offered to make him second in command under himself if he would renounce Cortes; but Velasquez declared he would never quit one who had done such signal services for God and the emperor.

By this time all the principal officers in the army of Narvaez had come up to salute Velasquez, who was an universal favourite, as he was very polite and well bred, and had a fine person and handsome countenance. At this time he cut a fine martial figure, as he had a massy gold chain which made two turns round his body and over his shoulders, so that he impressed every one with respect. Bermudez the alguazil-major and Duero wished much to have had some private communication with Velasquez; but just at this time Captain Gamarra, Juan Yuste, Juan Buono, and Salvatierra the braggadocio, persuaded Narvaez to give private orders for taking Velasquez into custody, for having spoken so boldly in defence of Cortes; but the others who had come over to the interest of Cortes, strongly represented the impropriety and impolicy of such rash conduct, and Narvaez again spoke in a friendly manner to Velasquez, whom he invited to dine with him, and entreated his assistance to bring Cortes and the rest of us into his power. Velasquez now agreed to forward this design, but represented Cortes as headstrong and resolute, advising that Narvaez and he should divide the country between them, each taking separate provinces. At this time Olmedo came up, and advised Narvaez to order his troops under arms, that Velasquez might see them and report to Cortes, who would be terrified when he knew their strength. The troops were accordingly turned out in review order, and Velasquez complimented Narvaez on their number and martial appearence, wishing him an increase of his power. Narvaez said he hoped Velasquez was now satisfied how easily he could crush Cortes and his despicable force; to which Velasquez replied, he hoped they knew how to defend themselves.

Velasquez dined next day with Narvaez, where a captain in his army who was nephew to the governor of Cuba happened to be, who used very insulting language respecting Cortes. On this Velasquez requested of Narvaez, that such insulting language might not be allowed in his hearing; but the

the other gentleman continued his abuse, and even took great liberties with Velasquez himself; who, laying his hand on his sword, asked permission from Narvaez to chastise that base liar. The other officers who were present interfered to prevent mischief, and advised both Velasquez and Olmedo to retire. Velasquez accordingly mounted his excellent grey mare, in his helmet and coat of mail, with his gold chain about his shoulders, and took leave of Narvaez, who returned his salute with apparent coldness. The young captain was again very violent in his abuse; on which Velasquez swore by his beard, that he should see in a few days what stuff he was made of. Then, taking a hasty leave of the bystanders, he put spurs to his good grey mare and was soon out of sight, as he had some hint or suspicion that Narvaez might send after him, and even saw some horsemen following him apparently for that purpose, but he was too well mounted for their pursuit.

In about two hours after Velasquez had left our camp to visit Narvaez, the drum beat to arms, and our little army set forwards on our march for Chempoalla. We killed two wild hogs on our way, which our soldiers considered as a good omen of our ultimate success. We halted for the night on the side of a rivulet, having the ground for a bed, stones for our pillows, and heaven for our canopy, and arrived next day at the place where the city of Vera Cruz is now built, which was then an Indian village in a grove of trees. Being mid-day and the weather extremely sultry, we stopped here for rest and refreshment, being much fatigued by the weight of our lances and armour. While here, a report was brought from one of our out-posts that some horsemen were in sight, who turned out to be Velasquez and Olmedo, who were received by Cortes and all of us with much joy, and we all came round them to hear the news. Velasquez told Cortes in what manner he had executed his commission and distributed the presents among the officers of Narvaez. Then our merry Father Olmedo gave an account by what finesse he had persuaded Narvaez to read our letter; how he had made the foolish braggart Salvatierra believe they were cousins, and of the ridiculous bravadoes he uttered, as how he would kill Cortes and all of us in revenge for the loss of his horse; then how he had prevailed on Narvaez to turn out his troops in review, merely to laugh at him; and in all these stories he mimicked Narvaez and Salvatierra most admirably, so that we

we laughed and enjoyed ourselves as if going to a wedding-feast, though we well knew that on the morrow we must conquer or die, having to attack five times our number. Such is the fortune of war! After the heat of the day was over, we proceeded on our march, and halted for the night at a river about a league from Chempoalla, where there is now a bridge and a dairy farm.

After the departure of Father Olmedo and Velasquez from the quarters of Narvaez, some of his officers gave him warning of the secret practices going on, and advised him to be on his guard, as Cortes had many friends in his army. The fat cacique of Chempoalla, being terrified for being called to account by Cortes for delivering up the women and mantles that had been confided to his care, was extremely vigilant in watching all our motions. Finding that we drew near Chempoalla, he said to Narvaez, "Why are you so careless! *Malinatzin* and his *teules* will come upon you by surprise and put you all to death." Narvaez, being confident in his vast superiority, laughed heartily at the fears of the fat cacique, yet did not neglect the warning. In the first place, he declared war against us as rebels, with fire, sword, and rope, and then drew up his whole army, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, in a plain about a quarter of a league from Chempoalla, where he resolved to wait for us; all of which we learned from a soldier named El Galleguillo, who either deserted to us, or was sent by Duero to Cortes. The day happened to be very rainy, and the troops of Narvaez, being unaccustomed to hardships, and despising our small number, became restless and dissatisfied with their situation, on which his officers advised him to march them back to quarters, which he did, placing all his guns in a line before the house in which he lodged. He likewise placed a grand guard of forty cavalry on the road by which we were expected to advance, and some cavalry videts and active foot soldiers at the ford where we must pass on our way to Chempoalla. Twenty of his cavalry were also appointed to patrole during the whole night around his quarters. All this was done by the advice of his officers, who were anxious to get under cover, and who alleged it was absurd to suppose that Cortes would venture to attack them with so pitiful a handful of men, and that he only advanced from ostentation, or to induce them to come to an agreement. On returning to quarters, Narvaez publickly offered a reward of two thousand crowns to whoever should kill Cortes or Sandoval;

doval; and he stationed as spies at the ford, Gonzalo Carrasco, who now dwells in La Puebla, and a soldier named Hurtado. He also filled his own quarters, and those of Salvatierra, Gamarra, and Buono, with musketeers, crossbowmen, and soldiers armed with partizans or halberts.

On arriving at the river which runs through the rich meadows about a league from Chempoalla, having appointed trusty out-guards, Cortes summoned all his officers and soldiers round him, and addressed us as follows: "Gentlemen! you well know that the governor of Cuba selected me as your general, although there are many among you as worthy of the command. You also know that it was publickly proclaimed and believed among us, that we were to conquer and colonize this country, whereas our instructions were only to barter with the natives for gold. You will recollect my determination to have returned to Cuba, to give an account of my mission to Velasquez, when I was required by you to remain and colonize the country for his majesties service, appointing me your captain-general and chief magistrate, till his majesties pleasure was made known, and that we have in consequence essentially served God, and the interest of our sovereign. I beg leave to remind you, that we have written to the king, giving him a full account of this country, and all that we have done and suffered for his service, requesting that the government might not be conferred on any unworthy person, and how we transmitted all the treasure to his majesty that we had obtained. You likewise know, that fearing the arts and influence of the bishop of Burgos and his favourite Velasquez, we came to a resolution to maintain his majesties rights and government in this country, till his royal mandate, duly authenticated, should be produced to us. I must now remind you to what dangers you have been exposed in various sanguinary battles, what hardships you have suffered from hunger and fatigue, and the inclemencies of the weather, having often been obliged to sleep on the ground in rain, wind, and snow, during all which, above fifty of your companions have died, and many of your own wounds are still unhealed. I recal to your remembrance, your numerous sufferings by sea and land, and the perils of Tabasco, Tlascala, and Cholula, where the boilers were already on the fires in which your limbs were to have been prepared for the barbarous repast of your savage enemies. And lastly, your

your hazardous entry into Mexico, the seizure of its powerful sovereign, and its occupation in the face of an immense and warlike population for more than six months. Let me now state the reward of all these dangerous and brilliant services. Narvaez is sent here by your enemies the governor of Cuba and bishop of Burgos, to strip you of your well-earned fame and dear-bought treasures. By aspersing your characters with the great Montezuma he has occasioned the defection of the natives who had submitted to our government, and he proclaims exterminating war against us with fire, sword, and rope, as if we were infidel Moors." He said a great deal more to the same purpose, exalting our merits and valour to the skies, and after a profusion of compliments and promises, he concluded by observing that this Narvaez, who had come to deprive us of our lives and properties, and had imprisoned the royal oydor for endeavouring to defend us, only held his command through the favour of our great enemy the bishop of Burgos; and it became us therefore, as faithful subjects, to make a bold stand in defence of the royal rights, and our own lives and properties: He therefore now wished to know our determination on the subject.

The whole officers and soldiers declared unanimously that we were ready to follow him, and determined to conquer or die. We desired, therefore, that we might hear no more said about an accommodation with Narvaez, or a partition of the country; as in that case we would plunge our swords into his body, and elect another chief. Cortes highly extolled our spirited declaration, saying that he expected no less from men of our valour; adding a multitude of fine promises and flattering assurances that he would make us all rich and great. Then adverting to the approaching attack, he earnestly enjoined us to observe the strictest discipline, and the most profound silence, observing that success in battle often depended a great deal more on prudent conduct and precise obedience, than on the most determined bravery: He well knew, he said, that our ardour would prompt every one of us to strive who should be most forward in the battle; but it was indispensably necessary that we should be distributed into companies, having each our distinct duties to perform. The first thing necessary to be done, was to seize the enemies artillery, and for this duty he selected seventy soldiers,

diers, among whom I was one, over whom he appointed to the command his relation Pizarro, an active young man, but then as little known to fame as the kingdom of Peru. Our farther orders were, as soon as we had got possession of the guns, that we were to join and support the detachment which was to attack the quarters of Narvaez. This duty was assigned to Sandoval at the head of seventy select men; and, as he was alguazil-major of our army, he was provided with a formal warrant to arrest the body of Pamphilo de Narvaez, for having imprisoned an officer of his majesty, and to put him to death in case of resistance. Cortes also promised a reward of three thousand crowns to the first soldier who should lay hands on Narvaez, two thousand to the second, and one thousand to the third. Juan Velasquez de Leon was appointed with a third body of seventy men, to seize his relation Diego Velasquez; and Cortes retained a body of reserve of twenty men, to act wherever he might see occasion, and in particular to support the intended attack on the quarters of Narvaez and Salvatierra, which were in the lofty temple of Chempoalla [3]. Having thus arranged the troops and instructed our leaders, he addressed us in a short speech, saying, That he well knew the army of Narvaez was four times more numerous than we, but they were unaccustomed to arms, and many of them ill; he trusted therefore in this unexpected attack, that God would give us victory, and that it was better to die gloriously than to live dishonoured. I have often reflected on this circumstance, that in all his addresses to us, he never once mentioned a word respecting those in the army of Narvaez who were our friends; in which he acted the part of a wise commander, making us to rely

3 These numbers, as arranged for the attack on Narvaez, only amount to 230 men. At the occupation of Mexico the Spanish army is said to have been about 450, besides the garrison of Villa Rica. Eighty-three men are stated to have been left in Mexico under the command of Alvarado, which would still leave 367 to march under Cortes for Chempoalla, to which 70 being added from Villa Rica under Sandoval, would raise the amount of the army now under Cortes to about 437 men, so that about 207 are unaccounted for in the arrangement for the attack, besides Ordas, and other eminent captains are not now mentioned in the text. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude, that these captains and the unaccounted for remaining force of Cortes, were left at the ford of the river, about a league from Chempoalla, as a rear guard, on which to retreat in case of a defeat, or may have formed a main body for the assault.—E.

rely entirely on our own prowess, without counting on any assistance. Our three detachments were now formed, having each their captains at their head, explaining to us our particular duties, while we mutually encouraged each other to hope for victory. Pizarro, our leader, directed us to rush forwards upon the guns, with our lances at the charge, and immediately on getting possession, the artillery-men who were attached to our division, were to point and fire them against the quarters of Narvaez. Those who happened at this moment to be deficient in defensive armour, would have given every thing they had in the world for a morion, a helmet, or a breast-plate. Our countersign for the engagement was *Spiritu Santo*, that of Narvaez *Santa Maria*. Just before marching, Captain Sandoval, who had always been my intimate friend, called me aside, and made me promise, if I survived the capture of the guns, I should seek out and attach myself to him during the rest of the battle.

All things being arranged, we remained waiting the order to march, and reflecting with much anxiety on what was before us. I was stationed at an advanced post, where soon afterwards a patrole came to me, asking if I had heard any thing, to which I answered that I had not. A corporal came up to my post soon after, who said that Galleguillo, the deserter from Narvaez, was missing, and was suspected of having come among us as a spy, for which reason Cortes had given orders to march immediately. The drum was soon heard beating for us to fall in, and the captains were calling over their companies. We joined the column, and soon after found the missing soldier sleeping under some mantles to relieve his fatigue, as he had not been accustomed to hardships. We marched on at a quick pace, and in profound silence, and on arriving at the river, surprised the two videts of Narvaez, one of whom we made prisoner, and the other flying into the town before us, spread the alarm of our approach. Owing to rain the river was deeper than usual, and the ford was difficult to pass, from loose stones and the weight of our armour. Carrasco the videt, whom we had taken, exclaimed to Cortes, "Do not advance, Senior Cortes, for Narvaez and all his force is drawn out to receive you." We proceeded, however, with all expedition, and on coming to the town, heard the other man who had escaped giving the alarm, and Narvaez calling on his officers to turn out. Our

company

company was at the head of the column; and rushing on with charged lances, we soon made ourselves masters of the guns, the artillery-men having only time to discharge four, one only of which took effect, and killed three of our men. Our whole force now advanced, and brought down seven of the enemies cavalry; but we could not for some time quit the guns, as the enemy kept up a smart discharge of musketry and arrows from the quarters of Narvaez. Sandoval and his company pressed forwards to climb the steps of the temple, in which attempt he was resisted by the enemy, with musketry, partizans, and lances, and was even forced down six or seven steps. At this time, seeing that the artillery was no longer in danger of being rescued, our company, with Captain Pizarro at their head, went to the assistance of Sandoval, when we jointly made the enemy give ground in their turn; and at this critical moment I heard Narvaez crying out, "Santa Maria assist me! they have slain me, and beat out one of my eyes!" On hearing this we shouted out, "Victory! victory! for the Espiritu Santo! Narvaez is dead!" Still we were unable to force our way into the temple, till Martin Lopez, who was very tall, set the thatch on fire, and forced those within to rush down the steps to save themselves from being burnt to death. Sanches Farfan laid hold on Narvaez, whom we carried prisoner to Sandoval, along with several other captive captains, continually shouting, "Victory! victory! Long live the king and Cortes! Narvaez is slain!"

While this was going on with us, Cortes and the rest of our army were engaged with some of the enemy who occupied some other lofty temples. When the cause of our shouts was understood, Cortes notified to them the fall of their commander, proclaiming that all who did not instantly submit should be put to death; yet those who were in the temple, commanded by Diego Velasquez and Salvatierra would not submit, till Sandoval with half of our body, and the captured guns, forced his way into the temple and made them all prisoners. Sandoval now returned to take charge of Narvaez, who was doubly ironed; and we now had in custody besides him, Salvatierra, Diego Velasquez, Gamarra, Juan Yuste, Juan Buono, and many other principal persons. At this time Cortes came in unobserved, extremely fatigued; and addressing Sandoval, said it was impossible

possible to describe the labour he had experienced; then asked, "What has become of Narvaez?" Sandoval told him that Narvaez was here safe. Cortes then said, "Son Sandoval, keep good watch over him and the other officers." After which he hastened away, and caused proclamation to be made, that all should lay down their arms and submit. The whole of this happened during the night, during which there were frequent showers, with intervals of moon-shine; but at the moment of attack it was extremely dark, with multitudes of fire flies, which the soldiers of Narvaez mistook for the lighted matches of our musketry. Narvaez was badly wounded, and had one of his eyes beaten out, on which account he requested to send for Master Juan the surgeon; and while he was getting his eye dressed Cortes entered the room, when Narvaez said to him: "Senior Cortes! thank your good fortune for having made me your prisoner." Cortes answered, That his thanks were due to God and his valiant soldiers, who had succeeded in more difficult achievements since they came to New Spain; and he considered the arrest of the royal oydor was more daring than our present attack. He then left the room, with strict injunctions to Sandoval to keep strict guard. Narvaez and the rest of the captured officers were removed into a more secure apartment, where I and some other confidential soldiers were appointed for their guard, and Sandoval gave me a private order to allow no one to speak with Narvaez.

Cortes knew that forty of the enemies cavalry were still at an outpost on the river, and that it was necessary to keep a good look out, lest they might attack us for the rescue of their officers. He sent, therefore, De Oli and De Ordas to speak with them, on two horses which were found fastened in a wood, and guided by one of the soldiers of Narvaez. By their arguments and fair promises, the horsemen were all persuaded to submit, and came back with them for that purpose to the town. It was now clear day, and Cortes was seated in an arm-chair, with an orange-coloured mantle over his shoulders, and his arms by his side, surrounded by his officers and soldiers. He received the salutations of the cavaliers, as they came up successively to kiss his hand, with amazing affability, embracing them all most cordially, and politely complimenting them. Among these were Bermudez, Duero, and several others, who were secretly his friends already. Each of the cavaliers, after paying his respects, went to the

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quarters assigned for their lodgings. Ever since day-break, the drums, fifes, and timbals of the army of Narvaez never ceased their music in honour of Cortes, though none of us had spoken a word to them on the subject. A comical fellow of a negro, who belonged to the band, danced for joy, shouting out; "Where are your Romans now? They never achieved so glorious a victory with such small numbers!" We could not silence these noisy fellows, till Cortes ordered them to be confined. In this action, a gentleman of Seville, and standard-bearer to Narvaez, Roxas, one of his captains, and two others, were killed, and many wounded; one also of the three who deserted from us to him was killed, and several wounded. The fat cacique also, who took refuge in the quarters of Narvaez on our approach, was wounded, and Cortes ordered him to his house, to be there well taken care of. As for Salvatierra, who had made so many boasts, his own soldiers said they never saw so pitiful a fellow. When he heard our drum he was in a terrible fright, and when we shouted out victory, he declared he had a pain at his stomach, and could fight no more. Diego Velasquez, who was wounded, was taken by his relation Juan Velasquez de Leon to his own quarters, where he was well taken care of, and treated with the utmost attention [5].

The reinforcement of warriors which Cortes had been promised from Chinantla, marched into Chempoalla soon after the conclusion of the action, under the command of Barrientos, who had marshalled them in a very shewy manner, in regular files, lancemen and archers alternately, 1500 in number, accompanied with colours, drums, and trumpets, and making a most warlike appearance, to the great astonishment of the soldiers of Narvaez, who thought they were double the number. Our general received them with much courtesy, and as their services were no longer needed, he made them handsome presents, and dismissed them with thanks.

The army of Narvaez being now secured, Cortes sent F. de Lugo to order all the captains and pilots of the fleet to come to Chempoalla, and directed all the ships to be dismantled, to cut off all communication with Cuba. One Barahona, afterwards an inhabitant of Guatimala, had been confined

5 This victory of Cortes over Narvaez took place on the 26th May 1520.—E.

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fined by Narvaez, and was now set at liberty, who was in a very weak state when he joined us. The captains and pilots of the fleet came on shore to pay their respects, and Cortes bound them all by oath not to leave him, appointing Pedro Cavallero, one of their number, admiral of the whole fleet now in his possession; and, as more ships were expected from Cuba, gave him orders to dismantle them all as they arrived, and to send the captains and pilots to head-quarters. All these important matters being arranged, and his authority completely established, Cortes proceeded to such measures as seemed proper for extending and securing the conquest and discovery of New Spain. For this purpose, Velasquez de Leon was appointed to conduct an expedition to the river of Panuco, with 220 soldiers, 20 of which were taken from among ourselves, and 100 from the soldiers of Narvaez: And was to be accompanied by two ships, on purpose to extend the discovery of the coast. Diego de Ordas, was appointed with a similar force, to establish a colony in the province of Guacocualco, or Coatzacualco; and as that country was well adapted for breeding cattle, he was directed to send to Jamaica for horses, mares, bulls, and cows, for the purpose of establishing an independent supply in the country. All the prisoners were released, except Narvaez and Salvatierra, who still had the pain in his stomach. Cortes also gave orders to restore all their horses and arms to the soldiers of Narvaez, which gave us all much dissatisfaction, but we were obliged to submit. On this occasion I had to resign a good horse with a saddle and bridle, two swords, three daggers, and a shield. Avila and Father Olmedo, speaking on this subject to Cortes, said he resembled Alexander the Great, who was always more generous to the vanquished, than to his own conquering soldiers. Indeed as fast as Cortes received gold or other valuables, he gave away all to the captains of the other army, quite forgetful of us who had made him what he was. Cortes protested that he and all he had was entirely devoted to our service, as he would shew by his future conduct; but that his present procedure was necessary for our common interest and safety, we being so few, and the others so numerous. Avila, who was of a lofty disposition, remonstrated in an imperious manner, and Cortes was forced to dissemble with him at the time, knowing him to be a brave man; he pacified him therefore with presents and flattering promises, to prevent any violence, but took care in future to employ

employ him in distant business, as his agent first in Hispaniola, and afterwards in Spain.

There happened to come over in the army of Narvaez, a negro who was ill of the small-pox, a most unfortunate circumstance for the people of New Spain, as the disease spread with astonishing rapidity through the country, and destroyed the natives by thousands, as they used to throw themselves into cold water in the height of the disease, with the nature of which they were utterly unacquainted. Thus multitudes of unfortunate souls were hurried into eternity, without an opportunity of being received into the bosom of the holy Catholic church. At this time, such of our soldiers as had been in distant garrisons, applied to Cortes to receive their shares of the gold which had been got in Mexico. As far as I can remember, he referred them to a place in Tlascala, desiring that two persons might be sent to receive it at that place; and I shall have occasion to mention the result hereafter.

Section X.

Occurrences, from the Defeat of Narvaez, 26th May 1520, to the Expulsion of the Spaniards from Mexico, on the 1st, and the Battle of Otumba on the 4th of July of the same Year.

The wheel of fortune is ever in motion, evil following closely upon good. This was strongly exemplified with us at this time, as our late successes were speedily followed by melancholy news from Mexico by express, informing us that an insurrection had broke out in that city, that Alvarado was besieged in his quarters, which the natives had set on fire, after killing seven of his men and wounding many; for which reason Alvarado earnestly entreated immediate succour. It is not to be expressed how much this news afflicted us all. In consequence of this distressing intelligence, Cortes countermanded the expeditions which were to have marched under De Leon and De Ordas, and determined upon an immediate forced march to Mexico. We left Narvaez and Salvatierra as prisoners at Villa Rica, under the charge of Roderigo Rangel, who was likewise directed to collect all the stragglers, and to take care of the invalids, who were numerous.

rous. Just as we were ready to march, four principal nobles arrived from the court of Montezuma, who made a heavy complaint against Alvarado, who had assaulted them while dancing at a solemn festival in honour of their gods, which had been held by his permission, and stating that they had been constrained to take up arms in their own defence, during which seven of the Spanish soldiers were slain. Cortes made them a short answer, saying that he would shortly be at Mexico, when he would make proper inquiry and set all to rights, with which answer they had to return to Montezuma, who was much displeased with the insulting tone in which it was given, more especially as a great number of his subjects had been killed by Alvarado. Before commencing our march, Cortes made a speech to the soldiers of Narvaez, exhorting them to forget all past animosities, and not to let the present opportunity be lost of serving both his majesty and themselves; and by way of inducement, gave them a magnificent picture of the riches of Mexico, to a participation in which their faithful conduct would entitle them. They one and all declared their resolution to obey his orders, and to proceed immediately to Mexico, which they would hardly have agreed to if they had known its strength, and the numerous martial population of that city.

We arrived at Tlascala by very long marches, where we were informed that the Mexicans had made incessant attacks on Alvarado, until Montezuma and they received intelligence of the defeat of Narvaez; after which they had desisted, leaving the Spaniards in great distress, owing to excessive fatigue from their continual exertions, and much in want of water and provisions. At Tlascala, Cortes made a general muster and inspection of our army, which now amounted to thirteen hundred men, of whom nearly an hundred were cavalry, and a hundred and sixty armed with muskets and crossbows. We were here joined by two thousand Tlascalan warriors, and marched from hence to Tezcuco, where we were very ill received, every thing bearing the appearance of disaffection.

On St John's day, 24th of June 1520, we again entered Mexico [1], where we met with a very different reception from what

[1] We are not writing the history of the conquest of Mexico, yet may be allowed to say that Cortes committed a gross military error, in entering Mexico

what we had experienced on our former entry, on the 8th November 1519, seven months and a half before. Not one of the nobles of our acquaintance came now to meet us, and the whole city seemed to have been deserted by its inhabitants. On entering our quarters, Montezuma advanced to embrace Cortes, and to congratulate him on his victory; but our general turned from him with disdain, and would neither speak to him nor listen to his address, on which the king returned to his apartment much cast down. Cortes made inquiry into the causes and circumstances of the late commotion, from all of which it was evident that it had neither been instigated nor approved by Montezuma; as if he had chosen to act against our garrison, they might all have been as easily destroyed as only seven. Alvarado said, that the Indians were enraged at the detention of their sovereign, and by the erection of the cross in their temple; and that when they went, as they said by order of their gods, to pull it down, all their strength was unable to move it from its place; and that Montezuma had strictly enjoined them to desist from all such attempts. In justification of himself, Alvarado alleged that the friends and subjects of Montezuma had planned the attack upon him for the liberation of their sovereign, at the time when they believed Cortes and his army had been destroyed by Narvaez: And being questioned why he had fallen on the Mexicans, while holding a festival in honour of their gods, he pretended that he had intelligence of their hostile intentions from a priest and two nobles, and thought it safest to be beforehand with them. When pressed by Cortes to say whether the Mexicans had not asked and obtained his permission to hold that festival, he acknowledged it was so, and that he had fallen upon them by anticipation, that he might terrify them into submission, and prevent them from going to war with the Spaniards. Cortes was highly displeased with the conduct of Alvarado, and censured him in the strongest terms.

Alvarado alleged that during one of the attacks of the Mexicans on his quarters, he had endeavoured to fire off one of his guns and could not get the priming to take fire; but sometime afterwards, when they were in great danger, the gun

Mexico without establishing a strong communication of posts between that insulated city and the land, along one of the causeways; which he might easily have done along the shortest causeway of Tacuba or Tlacopan, or by the aqueduct of Chapoltepec.—E.

gun went off of itself and made prodigious havock among the enemy, who were thus miraculously repulsed, and the Spaniards saved from inevitable destruction. He said also, that the garrison being in great distress for water, they sank a pit in one of the courts, when immediately a spring of the sweetest water sprung up. I know that there was a spring in the city which often produced tolerably fresh water [2]. Glory be to God for all his mercies! Some alleged that Alvarado was excited to this attack by avarice, in order to plunder the Indians of their golden ornaments during the festival; but I am satisfied his attack proceeded from a mistaken idea of preventing insurrection by terror. It is certain, that even after the massacre at the temple, Montezuma used every endeavour to prevent his subjects from attacking our people: but they were so enraged that nothing could restrain their eager thirst for vengeance.

During our march, Cortes had launched out to the new comers in warm eulogiums on the riches of Mexico, the power and influence which he had acquired, and the respect and obedience of the Mexicans, filling them with promises and expectations of enjoying gold in abundance. From the negligent coldness of his reception in Tezcuco, and the similar appearances in Mexico, he became vexed, disappointed, and peevish; insomuch, that when the officers of Montezuma came to wait upon him, and expressed the wishes of their master to see him, Cortes exclaimed angrily: "Away with the dog, wherefore does he neglect to supply us." The captains De Leon, De Oli, and De Lugo, happening to be present on this occasion, entreated him to remember the former kindness and generosity of the Mexican sovereign, and to treat him with moderation. This only seemed to irritate Cortes so much the more, as it appeared to censure his conduct, and he indignantly answered: "What obligations am I under to the wretch, who plotted secretly against me with Narvaez, and who now neglects to supply us with provisions?" The captains admitted that this ought to be done, and Cortes being full of confidence in the great military power he now commanded, continued a haughty demeanour to the Mexican noblemen who still waited his pleasure. Turning therefore to them, he desired them to tell their master, that he

2 It is to be noticed that the lake in which the city of Mexico was built contained water so salt as to be unfit for drinking.—E.

he must immediately order markets to be held, and provisions to be supplied for his troops, or to beware of the consequences. These lords understood the general import of the injurious expressions which Cortes had used against Montezuma, and made a faithful report to him of all that passed. Whether it may have proceeded from rage on account of these opprobrious expressions against their sovereign, or from a plan previously concerted to fall upon us, I know not, but within a quarter of an hour, a soldier dangerously wounded came running into our quarters, and reported that the whole people were in arms against us. This man had been sent by Cortes to bring over to our quarters the daughter of Montezuma and other Indian ladies, who had been left under the charge of the cacique of Tacuba, when we marched against Narvaez. He was returning with these ladies, when the people attacked him in great numbers on the causeway of Tacuba, where they had broken down one of the bridges, and had once seized him, and were forcing him into a canoe to carry him off to be sacrificed; but he extricated himself by a violent effort, and got away with two dangerous wounds.

Cortes immediately ordered out a detachment of 400 men under Ordas, to see what was the matter, and to endeavour to pacify the people; but he had hardly proceeded the length of a street, when he was assailed by immense numbers of the natives, some in the street, and others from the terraced tops of the houses, who killed eight of his men on the first discharge of missiles, and wounded mostly the whole of his men, himself in three places. Finding it impossible to proceed, Ordas retreated slowly towards our quarters, and soon after lost another soldier, who did astonishing feats of valour with a two-handed sword. The streets were so crowded with enemies, and we were so incessantly attacked in front and rear, and from the roofs, that for a long while he was unable to force his way. Neither the effect of our fire-arms, nor the most efficacious use of our other arms could deter the natives from closing in upon us hand to hand, and foot to foot; but at length Ordas forced his way back, having lost in all twenty-three of his men. Our quarters were attacked by prodigious multitudes at the same moment that the attack on Ordas began, and they poured in such incessant discharges of missile weapons, that they soon wounded above forty-six of our men, of whom twelve afterwards died. Even after the

retreat

retreat of Ordas, the enemy continued their attacks, and at length set fire to various parts of the buildings forming our quarters, thinking to burn us alive or to stifle us with smoke; and we were reduced to the necessity of tearing down some parts of the building, and to throw earth upon other parts, to extinguish the fire. All the courts and open places of our quarters were thickly strewed with arrows, stones, and darts, which had been thrown at us; and we were occupied the whole day and night, in repelling the incessant assaults, repairing the breaches in our defences, dressing our wounds, and preparing for future assaults. At dawn of the ensuing morning, we sallied out with our whole force, determined to conquer or to impress them with respect. The Mexicans met us with the utmost resolution, and though we fought almost in despair, their numbers were so immense, and they continually brought up such strong reinforcements of fresh troops, that even if we had all been Hectors or Orlandos, we could not have forced them to give ground. It is quite impossible to give any adequate idea of the obstinacy and violence of this battle. Though in every reiterated charge we brought down thirty or forty of the enemy, it had no effect, as they returned upon us with more violence and desperation than before; our musketry and cannon made no impression that was not instantly replaced; and if at any time they gave ground, it was only to draw us farther from our quarters, to make our destruction more sure. In the midst of all this, the stones and darts which were launched upon us from the terraces of the house tops did us astonishing injury. Some of our soldiers who had been in the wars of Italy declared, that neither among Christians or Turks, nor even in the French artillery, had they ever seen such desperate fighting as now among these Indians. We were at length forced to retreat to our quarters, which we reached with infinite difficulty, after losing ten or twelve of our men killed, and almost every one of us severely wounded.

After our return, we were busily occupied in preparing for a general sally on the next day after but one, with four military engines of strong timber like towers, each of which was calculated to contain twenty-five men under cover, with port-holes for the artillery, and for muskets and crossbows. During this interval we had likewise to repair the breaches which the Mexicans had made in our walls, and to resist their attempts to scale them, often in twenty places at once. The

The Mexicans constantly used the most injurious language against us; saying that the voracious animals in the great temple had been kept fasting for two days, that they might be ready to devour our bodies, when we were sacrificed to their gods. They assured us at the same time that our allies were to be put into cages to fatten, and that they would soon recover our ill got treasure. Sometimes they adjured us in the most plaintive terms to restore their king to liberty, and they annoyed us without ceasing by flights of arrows, constantly shouting and whistling. On the ensuing morning at day-break, having first recommended ourselves to God, we sallied out from our quarters with the turrets, such as I have seen in other places, and called *mantas* or *burros.* Our column was headed by a party of musketeers and crossbow-men, and our cavalry on our flanks, occasionally charging the enemy. Our purpose was to assail the great temple, which by its elevation and strong enclosures, served as a citadel to the Mexicans, and we advanced therefore in that direction, accompanied by our turrets; but the enemy resisted all our efforts with the most determined obstinacy. I will not attempt to relate all the circumstances of this desperate battle, or the difficulty which we had to encounter in driving the enemy from a very strong house which they occupied. The arrows of the Mexicans wounded many of our horses, notwithstanding that they wore defensive armour; and when our cavalry attempted at any time to charge or to pursue the enemy, they threw themselves into the canals, while others sallied out from the houses on both sides with long lances, assailing our people in the rear and on both flanks. It was utterly impossible for us to burn the houses, or to pull them down, as they all stood singly in the water, communicating only by means of draw-bridges; and it was too dangerous for us to attempt reaching them by swimming, as they showered vollies of stones upon us by slings, and threw large stones upon our heads from the terraces of their house tops. Even when a house was set on fire, it was very long of taking effect; and even when we succeeded, the flames could not communicate to the other houses, as they were all separated by canals, and their roofs were terraced, not thatched.

At length we reached the great temple, into which four thousand of the Mexicans immediately rushed, independent of other large bodies who were previously stationed there for its

its defence. They defended their temple with the most obstinate valour, and for some time prevented us from being able to ascend, our turrets, musketry, and cavalry, being of no avail to force them to give ground. The pavements of the temple courts were so smooth, that the horses fell when our cavalry attempted to charge. They opposed us in front from the steps of the great temple, and assailed us with such fury on both flanks and in the rear, that though our guns swept off a dozen or fifteen of them at every discharge, and though in each charge of our infantry we killed many of them with our swords and lances, they continually filled up the chasms we had made among them, and their numbers and resolution were so great that we could not make any permanent or effectual impression. We were even forced to abandon our *mantas* or turrets, which the enemy had demolished. At length, by a desperate effort, we forced our way up the steps, and in this assault Cortes shewed himself a hero. Our battle in this place was most desperate, every man among us being covered with blood, and above forty of our number lay dead on the spot. We reached with infinite difficulty the place where we had formerly set up the image of the blessed Virgin, which was not to be found, as it had been removed by order of Montezuma, either through fear or from devotion to his idols. We set fire to the buildings, and burnt down a part of the temples of Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca; and while some of us were employed in setting fire to the buildings, and others fighting, in which our Tlascallan allies seconded us most gallantly, above three thousand Mexican nobles, headed by their priests, made a most severe attack, and drove us down eight or ten of the steps. Others of the enemy from the corridors, or within the railings and concavities of the temple, assailed us on every side with arrows and other missiles, so that we were unable even to maintain the ground we had gained. We were constrained therefore to retreat, every man of us being wounded, and forty-six of our number slain. We regained our quarters with the utmost difficulty, which the enemy had almost gained possession of, as they had been continually endeavouring to carry them by assault during our absence, or to set them on fire. But they desisted in a great measure from the assault on our arrival, yet continued to throw in perpetual showers of arrows, darts, and stones. In the course of this most terrible engagement, we made two of the chief priests prisoners,

prisoners, whom we carried along with us to our quarters. I have often seen representations of this battle in Mexican paintings, both at Mexico and Tlascala, in which the various incidents were represented in a very lively manner. Our ascent to the great temple; the setting the temple on fire; the numerous warriors defending it in the corridors, from behind the rails, and in the concavities, and others on the plain ground, in the courts of the temple, and on all sides of us; many of our men being represented as dead, and all of us covered with wounds. In these paintings, the destruction of our turrets is conspicuously represented as a most heroic achievement.

The night which succeeded this unfortunate battle was passed by us in a most melancholy state; repairing the breaches which had been made in the walls of our quarters, dressing our wounds, burying our slain companions, and consulting upon measures for extricating us from our present almost hopeless situation. The followers of Narvaez heaped maledictions on Cortes for leading them to Mexico, and Velasquez came in for an ample share of their abuse, for having induced them to quit their peaceful habitations in Cuba. The enemy assembled around us again at day-break, and assailed our quarters with greater fury than ever, insomuch that our fire-arms were insufficient to repel them, though they mowed them down in great numbers. In this desperate situation, Cortes sent for Montezuma, whom he desired to address his subjects from a terrace, desiring them to desist from their attacks, assuring them that we would immediately evacuate the city. On receiving this message, Montezuma burst into tears, exclaiming, "What does he want with me now? I have been reduced to my present unhappy state on his account, and I neither wish to see him nor to live any longer?" He therefore dismissed the messengers with a refusal, and it is reported that he added, that he desired not to be any more troubled with the false words and specious promises of Cortes. Father Olmedo and Captain De Oli went to wait upon him, and used all possible expressions of respect and affection to induce him to comply with the request of Cortes. To this he replied, that he did not believe any thing he could now do would be of any avail, as the Mexicans had elected another sovereign, and were resolved not to allow a single Spaniard to quit the city alive. He made his appearance however at the railing of a terraced roof,

roof, attended by many of our soldiers, and made a very affectionate address to the people below, earnestly entreating a cessation of hostilities, that we might evacuate Mexico. As soon as Montezuma was perceived, the chiefs and nobles made their troops to desist from the attack, and commanded silence. Then four of the principal nobles came forwards, so near as to be able to hold conversation with Montezuma whom they addressed, lamenting the misfortunes which had befallen him and his family. They told him that they had raised *Cuitlahuatzin* [3] to the throne; that the war would soon be ended, as they had promised to their gods never to desist till they had utterly destroyed the Spaniards; that they offered up continual prayers for the safety of Montezuma their beloved sovereign, whom they would venerate and obey as formerly, as soon as they had rescued him from our hands, and hoped he would pardon all they had done for the defence of their religion and independence, and their present disobedience. Just as they concluded this address, a shower of arrows fell about the place where Montezuma stood; and though the Spaniards had hitherto protected him by interposing their shields, they did not expect any assault while he was speaking to his subjects, and had therefore uncovered him for an instant; in that unguarded state, three stones and an arrow hit him on the head, the arm, and the leg, wounding him severely. Montezuma refused every assistance, and all the endeavours of Father Olmedo could not prevail upon him to embrace the holy Catholic faith, neither could he be prevailed upon to have his wounds attended to. When informed of his death, Cortes and our captains lamented him exceedingly, and all of us soldiers who had been acquainted with his generosity and other amiable qualities, grieved as for the loss of a father. He was said to have reigned seventeen years, and to have been the best of all the sovereigns who had ruled over Mexico; having fought and conquered in three pitched battles, while subjugating other states to his dominions.

After the death of Montezuma, Cortes sent two of our prisoners, a nobleman and a priest, with a message to the new sovereign Cuitlahuatzin, to inform him of the melancholy

3 This prince, whom Diaz names Coadlavaca, was brother to Montezuma, prince of Iztapalapan, and Tlachcocoatl, or grand general of the Mexican army.—E.

choly event, which had happened by the hands of his own subjects; to express our grief on the occasion; and our wish that Montezuma might be interred with that respect which was due to his exalted character. Cortes likewise informed these messengers, that he did not acknowledge the right of the sovereign whom the Mexicans had chosen, as the throne ought to belong to the son of the great Montezuma, or to his cousin, who was now a prisoner in our quarters. He desired them also to say, if they would desist from hostilities, we would immediately march out of their city. He then ordered the body of Montezuma to be carried out by six nobles, and attended by most of the priests whom we had taken prisoners, desiring them to deliver the body of their deceased monarch to the Mexican chiefs, according to his dying injunctions. We could hear the exclamations of sorrow which were expressed by the people, at the sight of the body of their late sovereign; but our message was unavailing, as they recommenced their attack on our quarters with the utmost violence, threatening that in two days we should all pay with our lives for the death of their king and the dishonour of their gods, as they had now a sovereign whom we could not deceive as we had done by the good Montezuma.

Our situation was now exceedingly alarming, and on the day after the death of Montezuma, we made another sally towards that part of the city which contained many houses built on the firm ground, meaning to do all the injury we could, and, taking advantage of the causeway, to charge through the enemy with our cavalry, hoping to intimidate them by severe military execution, so as to induce them to grant us a free passage; we accordingly forced our way to that part of the city, where we burnt down about twenty houses, and very nearly reached the firm land [4]. But the injury we did the enemy was dearly purchased by the death of twenty of our soldiers, and we were unable to gain possession of any of the bridges, which were all partly broken down, and the enemy had constructed barricades or retrenchments in various places to obstruct the cavalry, wherever they could have done most essential service. Thus our troubles and perplexities continually increased, and we were forced again to

4 The expression in the text, of having nearly reached the firm land, is rather obscure, and may possibly mean that they had nearly forced their way along one of the causeways leading from the insular city to the continental shore of the lake.—E.

to fight our way back to our quarters. In this sally, which took place on a Thursday, Sandoval and others of our cavalry acted with great bravery; but those who came with Narvaez, not having been accustomed to such service, were timorous in comparison with our veterans. The number and fury of our enemies increased daily, while our force was diminished by each successive attack, and from our wounds we were become less able for resistance. Our powder was almost entirely expended; provisions and water became scarce; our friend Montezuma was no more; all our proposals for peace were rejected; the bridges by which we might have retreated were broken down; and in fine nothing but death in its direst form of immolation to their horrible idols appeared before us. In this state almost bordering on despair, it was resolved by Cortes in a consultation with all his confidential officers and soldiers, to make an attempt to quit the city during the night, as we were in expectation to find the enemy less upon their guard than in the day time. In order to deceive them, a message was sent by one of their chief priests who had been made prisoner, engaging to give up all the treasure in our possession, if they would give us permission within eight days to quit the city. Four days before this, one Botello, who pretended to be an astrologer, predicted that if we did not leave Mexico on this very night, that none of us would ever get out of it alive, adding many other foolish particulars to his prophecy.

As it was determined to endeavour to force our way from the city, a portable bridge of very strong timber was prepared for enabling us to pass over the canals or passages in the causeway, where the enemy had broken down the bridges; and one hundred and fifty of our soldiers, with four hundred Tlascalan allies, were appointed for conveying, guarding, and placing this bridge. The advanced guard of an hundred of our youngest and most active men, was commanded by Sandoval, assisted by Azevedo, De Lugo, De Ordas, and De Tapia, with eight of the captains that came with Narvaez. The rear guard of an hundred men, mostly those of Narvaez, and the greater part of our cavalry, was confided to Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon. Donna Marina and Donna Luisa, with the Mexican chiefs who were prisoners, were placed under an escort of thirty Spanish soldiers and three hundred Tlascalans: Our general, with Avila, Oli, and other officers, and fifty soldiers, formed a body of reserve to act where they

might

might be most needed. The rest of our soldiers and allies, with the baggage, formed a main body along with which the prisoners and their especial escort was to move, under protection of the van and rear guards. By the time that all these arrangements were completed, it drew towards night, and Cortes caused all the gold, which had hitherto been kept in his apartment, to be brought into the great hall of our quarters, when he desired Avila and Mexia, the kings officers, to take charge of what belonged to his majesty, assigning them eight wounded horses and above fourscore Mexicans for its conveyance. When these were loaded with all the gold they were able to carry, a great deal more remained heaped up in the saloon. Cortes then desired his secretary Hernandez and other notaries to bear witness that he could no longer be responsible for this gold; and desired the soldiers to take as much as they pleased, saying it were better for them to have it, than to leave it to their Mexican enemies. Upon this many of the soldiers of Narvaez, and some even of our veterans, loaded themselves with treasure. I was never avaricious, and was now more intent on saving my life than on the possession of riches: I took the opportunity, however, of carrying off four calchihuis from a casket, though Cortes had ordered his major-domo to take especial care of this casket and its contents, and these jewels were of infinite use to me afterwards, as a resource against famine, as they are highly prized by the Indians. The memorable night of our leaving Mexico, was dark, with much mist and some rain. Just before midnight, the detachment having charge of the portable bridge moved off from our quarters, followed in regular succession by the other divisions of our army. On coming to the first aperture in the causeway of Tacuba or Tlacopan, by which we retreated as being the shortest, the bridge was laid across, and was passed by the vanguard, the baggage, artillery, part of the cavalry, the Tlascalans with the gold. Just as Sandoval and his party had passed, and Cortes with his body of reserve, the trumpets of the enemy were heard, and the alarm was given on every side, the Mexicans shouting out, "*Tlaltelulco! Tlaltelulco*[5]*!* out with your

5 Tlaltelulco was the name of that division of the city of Mexico through which the Spaniards marched in their way towards the causeway of Tacuba, and was probably used to summon the inhabitants of that quarter to the attack.—E.

your canoes! the teules are marching off, assail them at the bridges!" In an instant the enemy assailed us on every side, some on the land and others in their canoes, which swarmed on the lake and the canals on both sides of our road, and so numerous were they and so determined that they entirely intercepted our line of march, especially at the broken bridges, and from this moment nothing but confusion and dismay prevailed among our troops. It rained so heavily that some of the horses became restive and plunged into the water with their riders; and to add to our distress our portable bridge was broken down at this first gap, and it was no longer serviceable. The enemy attacked us with redoubled fury, and as our soldiers made a brave resistance, the aperture became soon choked up with the dead and dying men and horses, intermixed with artillery, packs and bales of baggage, and those who carried them, all heaped up in the water. Many of our companions were drowned at this place, and many were forced into canoes and hurried away to be sacrificed. It was horrible to hear the cries of these unfortunate captives, calling upon us for aid which we were unable to give, and invoking the blessed Virgin and all the saints in vain for deliverance. Others of our companions escaped across those gaps in the causeway, by clambering over the confused mass of dead bodies and luggage by which they were filled, and were calling out for assistance to help them up on the other side; while many of them, thinking themselves in safety when they got to the firm ground, were there seized by the Mexicans, or killed with war clubs. All the regularity which had hitherto guided our march was now utterly lost and abandoned. Cortes and all the mounted officers and soldiers galloped off along the causeway, providing for their own immediate safety, and leaving all the rest to save ourselves as we best might: Nor can I blame them for this procedure, as the cavalry could do nothing against the enemy, who threw themselves into the water on both sides of the causeway when attacked, while others, by continual flights of arrows from the houses, or with long lances from the canoes on each side, killed and wounded the men and horses. Our powder was all expended, so that we were unable to do any injury to the Mexicans in the canoes. In this situation of utter confusion and derout, the only thing we could do was by uniting together in bands of thirty or forty, to endeavour to force our way to the land: When the Indians closed upon us,

we exerted our utmost efforts to drive them off with our swords, and then hurried our march to get over the causeway as soon as possible. Had we waited for each other, or had our retreat been in the day, we had all been inevitably destroyed. The escape of such as made their way to land, was due to the mercy of God who gave us strength to force our way; for the multitudes that surrounded us, and the melancholy sight of our companions hurried away in the canoes to instant sacrifice, was horrible in the extreme. About fifty of us, mostly soldiers of Cortes, with a few of those who came with Narvaez, stuck together in a body, and made our way along the causeway through infinite difficulty and danger. Every now and then strong parties of Indians assailed us, calling us *luilones*, their severest term of reproach, and using their utmost endeavours to seize us. As soon as we thought them within reach, we faced about and repelled them with a few thrusts of our swords, and then resumed our march. We thus proceeded, until at last we reached the firm ground near Tacuba, where Cortes, Sandoval, De Oli, Salcedo, Dominguez, Lares, and others of the cavalry, and such of the infantry as had got across the bridge before it was broken down, had already arrived [6].

On our approach, we heard the voices of Sandoval, De Oli, and Morla, calling on Cortes to return to the assistance of those who were still on the causeway, who loudly complained of being abandoned. Cortes replied, that it was a miracle any should have escaped, and that all who returned to the bridges would assuredly be slain: Yet he actually did return with ten or twelve of the cavalry and such of the infantry as had escaped unhurt, and proceeded along the causeway to attempt the succour of such as might be still engaged. He had not gone far when he met Alvarado badly wounded, accompanied by three of our soldiers, four of those belonging to Narvaez, and eight Tlascalans, all severely wounded and covered with blood. These Alvarado assured him were all that remained of the rear-guard, Velasquez de Leon and about twenty of the cavalry, and above an hundred of the infantry, who had belonged to his division, being all slain, or made

6 Clavigero, II. 116, says that the miserable remnant of the Spaniards assembled in Popotla, a village near Tacuba or Tlacopan. Diaz is often negligent of dates, but we learn in a subsequent passage, that this disastrous retreat from Mexico was on the 1st of July 1520.—E.

made prisoners and carried away to be sacrificed. He said farther, that after all the horses were slain, about eighty had assembled in a body and passed the first gap on the heaps of luggage and dead bodies; that at the other bridge the few who now accompanied him were saved by the mercy of God. I do not now perfectly recollect in what manner he passed that last aperture, as we were all more attentive to what he related of the death of Velasquez and above two hundred of our unhappy companions. As to that last fatal bridge, which is still called *Salto de Alvarado*, or the Leap of Alvarado, we were too much occupied in saving our own lives to examine whether he leaped much or little. He must, however, have got over on the baggage and dead bodies; for the water was too deep for him to have reached the bottom with his lance, and the aperture was too wide and the sides too high for him to have leaped over, had he been the most active man in the world. In about a year after, when we besieged Mexico, I was engaged with the enemy at that very bridge which was called Alvarados Leap, where the enemy had constructed breastworks and barricades, and we all agreed that the leap was impossible. One Ocampo, a soldier who came with Garay, who used to amuse himself with lampoons, made one on this supposed feat of Alvarado, saying, "That fear made him give that prodigious leap, leaving Velasquez and two hundred more to their fate as he leaped for his life." As Cortes found, by the information of Alvarado, that the causeway was entirely filled by the enemy, who must have intercepted all the rest of our companions, he returned to Tacuba, where all who had escaped were now collected. Messengers had been already sent from Mexico, ordering all the people of Tacuba, Ezcapuzalco, Tenajocan, and other neighbouring cities on that side of the lake, to collect and attack us; and they now began to surround us in the inclosed courts of Popotla where we had taken shelter, harassing us with stones and arrows, and even attacking us with lances, many of which were headed with the swords which we lost during our retreat. We defended ourselves against this attack as well as we could, and made several sallies to drive them off. But, as the enemy continually increased in number, it was determined to endeavour to reach Tlascala, for which purpose we set out under the direction of six or seven of our allies who were well acquainted with the country. After a fatiguing march by an indirect road, during which we were much harassed

by

by the enemy, who plied us with stones and arrows, we reached some houses on a hill near a temple, where we defended ourselves, and took such care as we could of our wounds; but could get no provisions. After the conquest of Mexico, a church was built on the site of this temple, and dedicated to *Nuestra Senora de los Remedios*, our Lady of Succour, to which many ladies and other inhabitants of Mexico, now go in procession to pay nine days devotion [7].

Our wounds had become extremely painful from cold, and want of proper dressings, and we now bound them up as well as we could. We had to deplore the loss of great numbers of our valiant companions, most of the soldiers of Narvaez having lost their lives by being overloaded with gold. Poor Botello the astrologer was killed among the rest. The sons of Montezuma, Cacamatzin who had been prince of Tezcuco, and all the other prisoners, among whom were some Mexican princes, lost their lives on this fatal night of our retreat from Mexico. All our artillery were lost. We had only twenty-three horses remaining, and very few crossbows; and our situation was melancholy and desperate in the extreme, having no other resource but to endeavour to reach Tlascala, and even there our reception was exceedingly uncertain [8]. After dressing our wounds, and making arrows for our crossbows, during which employment we were incessantly harassed in our present post, we proceeded at midnight on our march, under the direction of our faithful Tlascalans. Some of those who were badly wounded had to walk with the aid of crutches; others were assisted on each side by some of their companions; and those who were utterly unable to support themselves were placed upon lame horses. Thus, making head against the enemy with as many of the infantry

7 This place is about nine miles W. N. W. from Mexico, and only about a mile and a half from Tacuba. Its Mexican name, according to Clavigero, was Otoncalpolco. It is almost in an opposite direction from the road to Tlascala, but was probably chosen on purpose to avoid the populous hostile vale of Mexico, and to get as soon as possible among the hills, and among some of the conquered tribes who bore the Mexican yoke with impatience. Clavigero says that the Spaniards procured at this place some refreshments from a tribe of Otomies, who inhabited two neighbouring hamlets.—E.

8 The distance from where they now were to Tlascala was between 80 and 90 miles in a straight line; but as they chose a very circuitous route, by the west and north of the lakes in the vale of Mexico, before turning southeastwards to Tlascala, their march must have much exceeded that distance.—E.

infantry as could bear arms, and having the cavalry who were able to act in front and on our flanks, with the wounded Spaniards and allies in the centre, we marched on continually harassed by the enemy, who reviled us, saying that we should soon meet our destruction; words that we did not then understand. I have forgot to mention the satisfaction we all enjoyed at finding Donna Marina and Donna Luisa had been saved in our retreat from Mexico. Having crossed among the first, they had been brought safe to Popotla by the exertions of two brothers of Donna Luisa, all the rest of the female Indians having been lost in the retreat.

On this day we reached a large town named Gualtitlan [9]. From that place we continued our march, still harassed at every step by the enemy, whose numbers and boldness increased as we advanced, insomuch that they killed two of our lame soldiers and one of our horses at a difficult pass, wounding many both of our horses and ourselves. Having repulsed them, we reached some villages, where we halted for the night, making our supper of the slain horse [10]. We began our march very early next morning, and had only proceeded about a league, believing ourselves now almost in safety, when three of our videts came in with a report that the whole extent of a plain through which we must necessarily pass was covered over by an innumerable army. This intelligence was truly terrifying to our small numbers, worn out with fatigue and privations, and covered with wounds; yet we resolved to conquer or die, as we had indeed no other alternative. We were immediately halted and formed in order of battle, the infantry being directed to use their swords only in thrusts, by which we exposed ourselves less to the weapons of the enemy, and the cavalry were ordered to charge clear through at half

9 Named Quauhtitlan by Clavigero, and Guautitlan, Huauhtitlan or Teutitlan, in Humboldts map of the Vale of Mexico.—E.

10 As related in the text, this march to the villages appears to have been made on the same day with that to Guauhtitlan, and the battle of Otumba or Otompan, to have been fought on the second day of the march from Popotla or *Los Remedios*. But the distances and difficulty of the march renders this almost impossible. The chronology and distances, taking the names of some of the stages from Clavigero, II. 117, and the distances from Humboldts map, may have been as follows: Retreat from Mexico to Popotla, 1st July, 9 miles. March to Quauhtitlan, 2d July, 10 miles. To Xoloc, 3d July, 13 miles. To Zacamolco, 4th July, 10 miles. To Otompan, 5th July, 3 miles:—and indeed these dates are sufficiently confirmed by Diaz himself in the sequel.—E.

half speed, with their lances levelled at the faces of the enemy, never stopping to make thrusts. While recommending ourselves to God and his Holy Mother, and invoking the aid of St Jago, the enemy began to close around us, and we resolved to sell our lives dearly, or force our way through. The infantry being drawn up in a solid column, and our cavalry formed in bodies of five, we proceeded to the attack. It is impossible to describe the tremendous battle which ensued: How we closed hand to hand, and with what fury the enemy attacked us, wounding us with their clubs and lances and two-handed swords; while our cavalry, favoured by the even surface of the plain, rode through them at will with couched lances, bearing down the enemy wherever they came, and fighting most manfully though they and their horses were all wounded. We too of the infantry did our best, regardless of our former wounds and of those we now received, closing up with the enemy, and using every effort to bear them down with our swords. Cortes, Alvarado, and De Oli, though all wounded, continued to make lanes through the throng of the enemy, calling out to us to strike especially at the chiefs, who were easily distinguished by their plumes of feathers, golden ornaments, rich arms, and curious devices. The valiant Sandoval encouraged us by his example and exhortations, exclaiming, "Now is the day of victory! Trust in God, who will still preserve us to do him service." We were all resolute to conquer or die, and were assuredly assisted by the Lord Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, and St Jago; as was afterwards certified by a chief belonging to Guatimotzin, who was present in this battle. Though some were killed and many wounded, we continued to maintain our ground, yet the enemy never relaxed in their efforts. At length it was the will of God, that Cortes, accompanied by Sandoval, De Oli, Alvarado, Avila, and other captains, came up to that part of the enemy in which their commander-in-chief was posted, who was distinguished from all the rest by his rich golden arms, and highly adorned plume of feathers, and the grand standard of the army [11]. Immediately on Cortes perceiving this chief, who was surrounded by many nobles wearing plumes of feathers, he exclaimed to his companions, "Now,

11 According to Clavigero, II. 118, this standard was a net of gold fixed to a staff ten palms long, which was firmly tied to his back, and was called by the Mexicans Tlahuizmatlaxopilli.—E.

"Now, gentlemen, let us charge these men, and if we succeed the day is our own." Then, recommending themselves to God, they charged upon them, and Cortes struck the Mexican chief and threw down his standard, he and the other cavaliers effectually breaking and dispersing this numerous body. The Mexican chief, however, was making his escape, but was pursued and slain by Juan de Salamanca, who seized his rich plume of feathers and presented it to Cortes, saying, that as he had first struck the Mexican general and overthrown the standard, the trophy of the conquest was his undoubted right.

It pleased God, that the enemy should relax in their efforts immediately on learning the death of their general and of the numerous chiefs who surrounded him. On perceiving that they began to retreat, we forgot our hunger, thirst, fatigue, and wounds, and thought of nothing but victory and pursuit. Our scanty cavalry followed them up close, dealing destruction around them on every side; and our faithful allies fought like lions, mowing down all before them with the arms which the enemy threw away to facilitate their flight. On the return of our cavalry from the pursuit, we gave humble thanks to God for our unexpected victory and miraculous preservation. Never had the Mexican empire collected together so large a force as on this occasion; being composed of all the warriors of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlalcopan, headed by the whole nobility of these nations, magnificiently armed and adorned, and all determined not to leave a single trace of us upon earth. This great and decisive battle was fought in the the neighbourhood of a place called Obtumba, Otumba, or Otompan. I have frequently seen it, and all the other battles we fought against the Mexicans, antecedent to the final conquest, admirably represented in Mexican paintings. It is now proper to mention, that we entered Mexico to relieve Alvarado on the 24th of June 1520, with upwards of 1300 soldiers, including 97 cavalry, 80 musketeers, and 80 armed with crossbows; having with us a great train of artillery, and 2000 warriors of our allies the Tlascalans. Our flight from Mexico was on the 1st of the succeeding month of July, and the battle of Obtumba on the 4th of that month. In Mexico, during our passage of the causeway, on our march, and in the battle, we lost above 870 soldiers, including 72 of those belonging to Narvaez, and five Spanish women, who were put to death at a place called Tustepeque. Upwards of

1200

1200 of our Tlascalan allies were also killed; as were Juan de Alcantara and two more who had been sent from Chempoalla for the share of the gold assigned to the garrison of Villa Rica, who were robbed and murdered. Upon the whole, all who were concerned in the treasure came to bad fortune; and thus a much greater proportion of the soldiers of Narvaez perished in the flight from Mexico than of our veterans, as they had avariciously loaded themselves with gold on that unhappy night[12].

SECTION XI.

Occurrences from the Battle of Otumba till the march of Cortes to besiege Mexico.

IMMEDIATELY after the victory, we resumed our march for Tlascala, cheered by our success, and subsisted on a kind of gourds, called *ayotes*, which we found in the country through which we passed. We halted for the night in a strong temple, being occasionally alarmed by detached parties of the Mexicans, who still kept hovering about us, as if determined to see us out of their country. From this place, we were rejoiced at seeing the mountains of Tlascala, being anxious to ascertain the fidelity of these allies, and to hear news from our friends at Villa Rica. Cortes warned us to be exceedingly cautious of giving any offence to the Tlascalans, and particularly enforced this advice on the soldiers of Narvaez, who were less accustomed to discipline. He said that he hoped to find our allies steady in their attachment; but if they should have changed in consequence of our misfortunes, although we were now only 440 strong, all wounded and ill armed, we still possessed vigorous bodies and firm minds to carry us through, if necessary, to the coast. We now arrived at a fountain on the side of a hill, where we came to a rampart built in ancient times as a boundary between the state of Tlascala and the dominions of Mexico. We halted here,

12 Cortes entered Mexico with above 1300 men, and there were there under Alvarado about 75. Of these above 870 were slain, down to the close of the battle of Otumba; so that about 500 still remained under the command of Cortes. Diaz reckons only 440; but these were probably exclusive of such as were entirely disabled from service by their wounds.—E.

here, and then proceeded to a town called Gualiopar, or Huejotlipan, where we halted one day, and procured some food for which we were obliged to pay. Immediately on our arrival being announced at Tlascala, our friends Maxicatzin, Xicotencatl, Chichimecatl, the chief of Huexatcinco, and others, came to wait upon Cortes, whom they embraced, yet kindly blamed him for having neglected their advice to distrust the treachery of the Mexicans. They wept for the losses we had sustained, yet rejoiced at our escape, and praised our valiant actions; assuring us that they were assembling 30,000 of their warriors to have joined us at Obtumba. They were rejoiced to see Donna Marina and Donna Luisa, and lamented the loss of the other ladies. Maxicatzin in particular bewailed the fate which had befallen his daughter and Velasquez de Leon, to whom he had given her. They invited us to their city, where we were kindly received, and where we reposed in peace and safety after our many and severe hardships. Cortes lodged in the house of Maxicatzin, Alvarado in that of Xicotencatl, and the other officers were distributed among the houses of the nobles, all the soldiers being likewise supplied with comfortable quarters and abundant food. Here in the midst of our friends, we recovered from our wounds and fatigues, all except four who died.

Soon after our arrival, Cortes made inquiry after certain gold to the value of 40,000 crowns, the share belonging to the garrison of Villa Rica, which had been sent here from Mexico; and was informed by the Tlascalan chiefs, and by a Spanish invalid left here when on our march to Mexico, that the persons who had been sent for it from Villa Rica had been robbed and murdered on the road, at the time we were engaged in hostilities with the Mexicans. Letters were sent to Villa Rica, giving an account of all the disastrous events which had befallen us, and desiring an immediate supply of all the arms and ammunition that could be spared, and to send us a strong reinforcement. By the return of the messengers, we were informed that all was well at Villa Rica and the neighbourhood, and that the reinforcement should be immediately sent. It accordingly arrived soon after, consisting in all of *seven* men, three of whom were sailors, and all of them were invalids. They were commanded by a soldier named Lencero, who afterwards kept an inn still known by his name; and for a long while afterwards, *a Lencero reinforcement* was a proverbial saying among us. We were involved in some trouble

trouble by the younger Xicotencatl, who had commanded the Tlascalan army against us on our first arrival in their country. This ambitious chieftain, anxious to be revenged upon us for the disgrace he had formerly sustained, on hearing of our misfortunes and our intended march to Tlascala, conceived a project for surprising us on our march and putting us all to death. For this purpose, he assembled many of his relations, friends, and adherents, to whom he shewed how easily we might all be destroyed, and was very active in forming a party and collecting an army for this purpose. Although severely reproached by his father for this treacherous design, he persevered in his plan; but the intrigue was discovered by Chichimecatl, his determined enemy, who immediately communicated the intelligence to the council of Tlascala, before whom Xicotencatl was brought prisoner to answer for his treacherous intentions. Maxicatzin made a long speech in our favour, representing the prosperity which their state had enjoyed ever since our arrival, by freeing them from the depredations of their Mexican enemies, and enabling them to procure salt from which they had been long debarred. He then reprobated the proposed treachery of the younger Xicotencatl, against men who certainly were those concerning whom the prophecy had been handed down by their ancestors. In reply to this, and to a discourse from his father to the same purpose, the young man used such violent and disrespectful language, that he was seized and thrown down the steps of the council-hall into the street, with such violence that he narrowly escaped with his life. Such was the faithful conduct of our Tlascalan allies, and Cortes did not think it prudent to push the matter any farther in our present ticklish situation.

After remaining twenty-two days in Tlascala, Cortes resolved upon attacking the adjoining provinces of Tepejacac and Zacatula, on account of some murders the inhabitant of these districts had committed on the Spaniards; but the soldiers of Narvaez were decidedly averse from entering into any new war, as the slaughter of Mexico and the battle of Obtumba made them anxious to renounce Cortes and his conquests, and to return as soon as possible to their houses and mines in Cuba. Beyond all the rest, Andres Duero was heartily sick of his junction with Cortes, regretting the gold he had been forced to leave in the ditches of Mexico. These men, finding that words were of no avail to persuade

Cortes to relinquish his plans of conquest, made a formal remonstrance in writing, stating the insufficiency of our force, and demanding leave to return to Cuba. Cortes urged every reason he could think of to induce them to concur in his schemes; and we who were his own soldiers, requested him on no account to permit any one to depart, but that all should remain to serve the cause of God and the king. The malcontents were forced reluctantly to acquiesce, murmuring against Cortes and his expeditions, and us who supported him, who, they said, had nothing but our lives to lose[1]. We now, therefore, set out on an expedition to chastise these districts, without artillery or fire-arms of any kind, all of which had been left in the Mexican canals. Our force consisted of 16 cavalry, 424 of our own infantry, mostly armed with swords and targets, and about 4000 Tlascalans. We halted at about three leagues from Tepejacac, but the inhabitants had deserted their houses on our approach. Having got some prisoners during the march, Cortes sent them to the chiefs with a message, intimating that he came to demand justice for the murder of eighteen Spaniards in their territories, and for their admitting Mexican troops into their country; and threatening them with fire and sword if they did not immediately submit to his authority. By our messengers and two Mexicans, they sent back a message, ordering us to return immediately, or they would put us all to death, and feast upon our bodies. Upon this it was determined in a council of the officers, that a full statement of all that had passed, should be drawn up by a royal notary, denouncing slavery on the Mexicans or their allies who had killed any Spanish subjects, after having submitted to the authority of the king. When this was drawn up and authenticated, we sent once more to require their submission, giving notice of the inevitable consequences of their disobedience. But they returned an answer like the former. Both sides being prepared for battle, we came to action with them next day; and as the enemy were drawn up in open fields of maize, our cavalry soon put the enemy to flight with considerable loss, though they made an obstinate resistance. In this battle our Tlascalan allies fought bravely; and, in the pursuit, we took a good many prisoners, all of whom were made slaves of. After this victory, the natives sued for peace,

1 A long digression is here omitted, in which Diaz severely reprehends the account given by Gomara of this and other transactions in his history of the conquest of Mexico, altogether uninteresting to the English reader.—E.

peace, and we marched to the town of Tepejacac to receive their submission; and finding it an eligible situation, being in a fertile district, and on the road to Villa Rica, Cortes founded a colony in the place, naming it *Segura de la Frontera*. Municipal officers were appointed, and a branding-iron for marking those natives who were taken and reduced to slavery. We made excursions from this place through the surrounding district, and to the towns of Cachula, Tecamechalco, Guayavas, and some others, taking many prisoners, who were immediately branded for slaves; and in about six weeks we reduced the people to order and obedience.

At this time Cortes was informed from Villa Rica, that a vessel had arrived there commanded by Pedro Barba, his intimate friend, who had been lieutenant to Velasquez at the Havanna, and had now brought over thirteen soldiers and two horses; as also letters from Velasquez to Narvaez, ordering to send Cortes, if alive, to Cuba, that he might be sent to Castile, such being the orders of the bishop of Burgos. On the arrival of Barba in the harbour, the admiral appointed by Cortes went on board in a boat well armed, but with the arms concealed. When on board, the admiral saluted Barba, inquiring after the health of Velasquez, and the others inquired for Narvaez, and what had become of Cortes. They were told that Narvaez was in possession of the country, and had acquired great riches, while Cortes was a fugitive, wandering about with only twenty followers. They then invited Barba and the rest on shore; but the moment they entered the boats, they were ordered to surrender themselves prisoners to Cortes. The ship was dismantled, and the captain and crew, together with Barba and his men, sent up to us at Tepejacac, to our great satisfaction; for though we did not now suffer much in the field, we were very unhealthy from continual fatigue, five of our men having died of pleurisies of late. Francisco Lopez, afterwards regidor of Guatimala, came along with this party. Barba was kindly received by Cortes, whom he informed that another small vessel might be expected with provisions in about a week. It came accordingly, having on board Roderigo de Lobera, with eight soldiers and a horse. These were circumvented like the others, and sent up to us, by which we were much pleased to procure an accession to our small force.

About this period, Cuitlahuitzin, who had been elected sovereign of Mexico in place of his brother Montezuma, died

died of the small-pox, and Quauhtemotzin, or Gautimotzin, was chosen in his stead, a young man of twenty-five years of age, of fine appearance, exceedingly brave, and so terrible to his subjects that every one trembled at his sight. On receiving notice of the reduction of Tepejacac, he became apprehensive of losing his other provinces, yet neglected no precautions to preserve the chiefs in their obedience, and sent considerable bodies of troops to the provinces nearest to where we were, to watch our motions. But these Mexican troops injured the cause they were sent to support, becoming very disorderly, plundering and maltreating the people whom they were sent to defend, or to keep under subjection. Provoked by these injuries, the ruling people of these provinces deputed four chiefs to negociate with Cortes, offering to submit to him, provided he would expel the Mexicans. Cortes immediately acceded to this proposal, and detached all the cavalry and crossbow-men of our army under De Oli, with as many of our other infantry as made up a force of 300 men, to which a considerable number of Tlascalan allies were joined. While our people were on their march, they received such formidable accounts of the number and force of the enemy, as entirely deprived the soldiers of Narvaez of all inclination for military expeditions. They mutinied, and told De Oli that, if he were determined to persevere, he might go alone, for they were resolved to quit him. De Oli remonstrated with them in vain, though supported by all the old soldiers of Cortes, and was compelled to halt at Cholula, whence he sent word to Cortes of his situation. Cortes returned an angry answer, ordering him to advance at all events. De Oli was now in a violent rage at those who had occasioned this reprimand from the general, and ordered the whole to march immediately, declaring he would send back all who hesitated, to be treated by Cortes as their cowardice deserved. On his arrival within a league of Guacacualco, he was met by some of the native chiefs, who informed him how he might best come upon the enemy. He accordingly marched against the Mexican forces, whom he completely defeated and put to flight, after a sharp action, in which eight of our men were wounded, and two horses killed. Our allies made a great slaughter of the Mexicans during the pursuit. The Mexicans fell back to a large town called Ozucar, where they joined another great body of their countrymen, who fortified themselves in that post, and broke down the bridges. De Oli pursued with as many of his troops as could keep up

with him; and having passed the river by the assistance of his friends of Guacacualco, he again attacked the Mexicans, whom he again defeated and dispersed, losing two more of his horses. He received two wounds himself on this occasion, and his horse was wounded in several places. He halted two days after his double victory, receiving the submission of all the neighbouring chiefs, after which he returned with his troops to Segura de la Frontera. De Oli was received with applause by Cortes and all of us; and when we laughed at him for the hesitation of his men, he joined with us heartily, saying he would take the poor soldiers of Cortes on the next expedition, and not the rich planters who came with Narvaez, who thought more of their houses and estates than of military glory, and were more ready to command than to obey.

Cortes now got information from Villa Rica of the arrival of a ship commanded by one Comargo, having upwards of seventy soldiers on board, all very sickly. This vessel had belonged to an expedition sent from Jamaica by Garray to establish a colony at Panuco; the other captain, Pineda, and all his soldiers, having been put to death by the natives, and their ship burnt. On finding, therefore, the ill success of that adventure, and that his men were afflicted with diseases of the liver from the unhealthy nature of the country, Camargo had come to Villa Rica for assistance. He is said to have been perfectly acquainted with the state of affairs in New Spain; and, on his arrival at Villa Rica, he immediately disembarked his soldiers, and went to Segura de la Frontera by slow marches, where he and his men were received with the utmost kindness by Cortes, and every possible care was bestowed for his and their recovery; but he and several of his soldiers soon died. By reason of their swollen bodies and discoloured countenances, we used to call these men *the green paunches*. That I may not interrupt the thread of my narrative, I shall mention in this place, that all the rest of this armament which was destined for Panuco, arrived at our port of Villa Rica at different and irregular periods, Garray continually sending us reinforcements, which he meant for Panuco, as he believed his intended colony at that place was going on successfully. The first of these reinforcements after Camargo consisted of fifty soldiers with seven horses, under the command of Michael Diaz de Auz. These men were all plump and jolly, and we gave them the nick-

 name

name of the *Sir-loins.* Shortly after him another vessel brought forty soldiers with ten horses, and a good supply of crossbows and other arms. These were commanded by an officer named Ramirez, and as all his soldiers wore very thick and clumsy cotton armour, quite impenetrable by arrows, we called them the *Pack-horses.*

Being thus unexpectedly reinforced by upwards of an hundred and fifty men, and twenty horses, Cortes determined to chastise the Indians of Xalatcingo, Cacatame, and other towns near the road to Villa Rica, who had been concerned in the murder of those Spaniards who had been sent from Villa Rica for the treasure. For this purpose he sent a detachment of two hundred veterans, among whom were twenty horsemen, and twelve armed with crossbows, under the command of Sandoval, who had likewise along with him a strong detachment of Tlascalans. Being informed that the Indians of that district were in arms, and reinforced by Mexican troops, Sandoval sent a message, offering pardon for the murder of the Spaniards, if they would submit to our government, and return the treasure. Their answer was, that they would eat him and all his men, as they had done the others. Sandoval, therefore, immediately marched into their country, and attacked them in two places at once, and though both the natives and the Mexicans defended themselves with great bravery, they were soon defeated with considerable loss. On going into some of their temples after the victory, our people found Spanish cloths, arms, saddles, and bridles, hung up as offerings to their gods. The inhabitants of this district submitted themselves to his majesties government, but were unable to return the treasure, as it had been sent to Mexico. Sandoval remained three days in this district receiving the submission of the inhabitants, whom he referred to Cortes for their pardon, and then returned to head-quarters, carrying a number of women and boys along with him, who were all branded as slaves. I was not on this expedition, being ill of a fever, attended with a vomiting of blood; but, being bled plentifully, I recovered by the blessing of God. In pursuance of orders from Sandoval, the chiefs of these tribes and of many others in the neighbourhood, came to Cortes and submitted themselves to his authority. Sandoval was sent in the next place to chastise the inhabitants of a district called Xocotlan, who had murdered nine Spaniards, having with him an hundred infantry

infantry, thirty cavalry, and a strong body of Tlascalans. On entering the district, he summoned the people to submission under the usual threats; but, as they had a considerable body of Mexican forces to aid them, they returned for answer, that they would acknowledge no other government than that of Mexico. Sandoval, therefore, put his troops in motion, cautioning the allies not to advance to the attack till the enemy were broken by our troops, and then to fall upon the Mexicans especially. Two large bodies of the enemy were found posted in strong and rocky ground, very difficult for our cavalry, insomuch, that before Sandoval could drive them from this post, one of his horses was killed, and nine wounded, as likewise were four of his soldiers. They were at length driven from this post into the town of Xocotlan, where they took post in the temples and some large walled courts; but were dislodged from these and put to flight with great slaughter, our Tlascalan allies giving good assistance, as they were incited by the hopes of abundant plunder. Sandoval halted two days in this place, to receive the submission of the chiefs, who begged pardon for what had passed, promising future obedience, and to supply us plentifully with provisions. On being ordered to restore the effects of the Spaniards whom they had slain, they replied that every thing of that kind had been burnt. They said, likewise that most of the Spaniards whom they had slain were eaten by them, except five, whom they sent to Guatimotzin [2].

These expeditions were productive of the best effects, as they extended the fame of Cortes and the Spaniards through the whole country for valour and clemency; and our general became more dreaded and respected than Guatimotzin, the new sovereign of Mexico, insomuch that his authority was resorted to on all occasions of importance. The small-pox at this time committed dreadful ravages in New Spain, cutting off vast numbers of the natives, and among the rest, many of the chiefs and princes of the country became victims to this dreadful calamity. On these occasions, the claimants for succession to the vacant chiefships resorted to Cortes, as sovereign of the country, for his decision, which they uniformly

2 Clavigero, II. 132, mentions about this time an expedition against Tochtepec, a considerable town on the river of Papaloapan, in which Salcedo and a detachment of 80 Spaniards were entirely cut off.—E.

uniformly submitted to. Among the rest, the lordship of Guacacualco and Ozucar became vacant, and the various claimants submitted their claims to the decision of Cortes, who decided in favour of a nephew of the late Montezuma, whose sister had been married to the former cacique of the district.

All the country around Tlascala and to the eastwards being now reduced to subjection, an order was issued to bring all the prisoners to a large house in the town of Segura, that the fifths belonging to the king and Cortes might be deducted, and the rest divided among the troops. The prisoners consisted of women, boys, and girls, as the men were found too difficult to keep, and our Tlascalan friends performed every service for us that we could desire, such as carrying our baggage, ammunition, and provisions, and all other drudgery. The prisoners were confined all night, and the repartition took place next morning. In the first place the king's fifth was set aside, and then that which belonged to Cortes; but when the shares of the soldiers came to be distributed, there remained only a parcel of old miserable jades, and it was found that some person had been in the depot during the night, who had taken away all the young and handsome women. This occasioned much clamour among the soldiers, who accused Cortes of injustice, and the soldiers of Narvaez swore no such thing had ever been heard of in the Spanish dominions as two kings and two fifths. One Juan de Quexo was very loud in his complaints on this occasion, declaring that he would make it known in Spain how we had been abused by Cortes, more especially in regard to the gold at Mexico, where only the value of 300,000 crowns appeared at the division, whereas 700,000 crowns worth were produced at the time of our flight. Many of the soldiers loudly complained of having their women taken from them, after they had given them clothes and ornaments, saying they had only expected to have paid the fifth of their values to the king, and then that each would have got back his own. Cortes protested that better regulations should be adopted in future, and got the affair hushed up with smooth words and fair promises; yet he soon attempted even worse than this. It may be remembered, that, on the fatal night of our retreat from Mexico, all the treasure was produced, and every soldier was allowed to take as much as he pleased. On this occasion, many of the soldiers of Narvaez, and some of our own, loaded

loaded themselves with gold. Cortes now learned that a quantity of gold in bars was in circulation among the troops at La Frontera, who were much engaged in deep play, and forgot the old adage, that riches and amours should be concealed. He now issued an order for all the gold to be delivered within a given time, under severe penalties for disobedience, and promised to return back a third part to all who delivered their gold, but that all should be forfeited in case of failure or evasion. Many of the soldiers refused obedience to this arbitrary order, and from some Cortes took their gold by way of loan, yet rather by force than with their consent. Many of our captains, and those who had civil offices in the colony, were possessed of gold, and at length Cortes was glad to quash the order and say no more about the matter.

The officers who had come with Narvaez thought the present interval of tranquillity was a favourable opportunity to renew their solicitations for leave to return to Cuba, to which Cortes at length consented, and gave them one of the best ships in the harbour, which was victualled with salted dogs, fowls, maize, and other provisions of the country. By this ship, Cortes sent letters to his wife Donna Catalina and her brother Juan Suarez, giving them an account of all that had happened in New Spain, and sent them some bars of gold and Mexican curiosities. The following were among the persons who now returned to Cuba, having their pockets well lined after all our disasters. Andres de Duero, Augustin Bermudez, Juan Buono, Bernardino de Quesada, Francisco Velasquez, Gonsalo Carrasco, who afterwards returned to New Spain, and lives now in La Puebla, Melchior Velasquez, one Ximenes, who now lives in Guaxaca, and went over at this time for his sons, the commendator Leon de Cervantes, who went to bring over his daughters, who were very honourably married after the conquest of Mexico; one Maldonado of Medelin, an invalid, a person named Vargas, and Cardinas the pilot, he who talked about the two kings, to whom Cortes gave the three hundred crowns he had formerly promised for his wife and daughters. We remonstrated with Cortes for allowing so many persons to quit the army, considering how weak we were already, on which he observed, that he did it partly to get rid of their importunities, and partly because they were unfit for war, and it was better to have a few good

soldiers than many bad ones. Alvarado was sent to see these men safely shipped off, and he sent at this time Diego de Ordas and Alonzo de Mendoza to Spain, with instructions of which we were ignorant, except that they were meant to counteract the malice of the bishop of Burgos, who had declared us all traitors. De Ordas executed his commission to good purpose, and got the order of St Jago for himself, and the volcano of Popocatepetl added to his arms. Cortes sent also Alonzo de Avila, contador of New Spain, and Francisco Alvarez, to Hispaniola, to make a report to the court of royal audience, and the brothers of the order of Jeronymites, of all that had taken place, particularly in regard to Narvaez, and supplicating them to represent our faithful services to the emperor, and to support our interests against the enmity and misrepresentations of Velasquez and the bishop of Burgos. He sent likewise De Solis to Jamaica to purchase horses. It may be asked how Cortes was able to send agents to Spain, Hispaniola, and Jamaica, without money. But, although many of our soldiers were slain in our flight from Mexico, and much treasure lost in the ditches and canals of Mexico, yet a considerable quantity of gold was saved, as the eighty loaded Tlascalans were among the first who passed the bridge, and afterwards delivered all their gold to Cortes [3]. But we poor soldiers had enough ado to preserve our lives, all badly wounded, and did not trouble ourselves to inquire what became of the gold, or how much was brought off. It was even rumoured among us, that the share belonging to the garrison of Villa Rica, the carriers of which had been robbed and murdered, went after all to Spain, Jamaica, and other places; but as Cortes lined the pockets of our captains with plenty of gold, all inquiry on this head was stopped.

It may be wondered how Cortes should send away so valiant a captain as Alonzo de Avila on an affair of negociation, when he had several men of business in his army who could have been better spared, such as Alonzo de Grado, Juan Carceres *the rich*, and several others. The true reason was, that

3 This must have been a very considerable treasure. On one occasion, Clavigero reckons a load of gold at 800 ounces. The eighty Tlascalans might therefore carry off 64,000 ounces, which at L. 4 the ounce, is worth L. 256,000 Sterling, and of considerably more efficacious value in those days than a million is now.—E.

that Avila was too ready to speak out on all occasions to obtain justice for the soldiers, and therefore Cortes sent him away that he might no longer be opposed and thwarted in his proceedings; and that he might give his company to Andres de Tapia, and his office of contador to Alonzo de Grado.

Having now determined to undertake the siege of Mexico, Cortes left a garrison of twenty men, mostly sick and invalids in Frontera, under the command of Juan de Orozco, and marched with the rest of the army into the country of Tlascala, where he gave orders to cut down a quantity of timber, with which to construct a number of vessels to command the lake of Mexico. These ships were to be built under the direction of Martin Lopez, an excellent shipwright, and a valiant soldier, in which he was assisted by Andres Nunez, and old Ramirez, who was lame from a wound. Lopez conducted matters with great spirit, insomuch that in a very short time he had all the timber cut down, shaped, and marked out for the vessels, ready to be put together. The iron work, anchors, cables, sails, cordage, and all other necessaries for the vessels were procured from Villa Rica, whence all the smiths were sent up to the army to give their assistance. As pitch was unknown among the natives, four sailors were sent to the pine forests of Huetzotzinco, to obtain a supply of that article, in which they succeeded.

On our arrival at Tlascala, we learnt that our good friend and faithful ally Maxicatzin had fallen a sacrifice to the small-pox. Cortes lamented the death of this good man as that of a father, and put on mourning out of respect to his memory, in which he was imitated by many of our officers and soldiers. As there was some difficulty in regard to the succession, Cortes conferred the vacant dignity on the legitimate son of the deceased chief, as he had desired a short time before his death, on which occasion he had strictly enjoined all his family and dependents to persevere in their alliance with us, as we were undoubtedly destined to rule their country according to their ancient traditions. The other chiefs of the Tlascalans offered their best services, in providing timber for our vessels, and engaged to aid us with all their military force in prosecuting the war against Mexico. Cortes accepted their offer with every mark of gratitude and respect; and even prevailed on the elder Xicotencatl, one of their principal caciques, to become a Christian, who was accordingly baptised with

with great ceremony, by the name of Don Lorenzo de Vargas.

Just as we were about to begin our march, intelligence came from Villa Rica of the arrival of a vessel from Spain and the Canaries, loaded with military stores, horses, and merchandize, and having thirteen soldiers on board. The owner, who was likewise on board, was one Juan de Burgos, but the vessel was commanded by Francisco Medel. Cortes sent immediate orders to purchase the whole cargo, and all the people came up to join us to our great satisfaction. Among these were one Juan del Espinar, afterwards a very rich man, and two others named Sagredo, and Monjaraz a Biscayan, who had two nephews of the same name in our army. Monjaraz never went upon any expedition or engagement along with us, always feigning to be sick, though he omitted no opportunity to boast of his courage. Once, while we were besieging Mexico, he went up to the top of a high temple, as he said to see how the natives fought; and by some means which we could never find out, he was killed that day by some of the Indians. Those who had known him in Hispaniola, said it was a just judgment, for having procured the death of his wife, a beautiful and honourable woman, by means of false witnesses.

All the timber for our vessels being in readiness, and every thing prepared for our expedition against Mexico, it was debated in our council of war in what place we should establish our head-quarters, in order to prepare our measures for investing that city. Some strongly recommended Ayotcingo as most convenient for that purpose, on account of its canals. Cortes and others preferred Tezcuco, as best adapted for making incursions into the Mexican territory, and that place was accordingly fixed upon. We accordingly began our march from Tlascala immediately after the junction of our last reinforcement from Villa Rica, consisting of the soldiers who came with Medel and De Burgos.

SECTION

Section XII.

Transactions of Cortes and the Spaniards from their March against Mexico, to the Commencement of the Siege of that City.

We began our March from Tlascala on the 26th of December 1520, with the whole of our Spanish force, and accompanied by ten thousand of our Tlascalan allies [1], and halted that night within the territories of the state of Tezcuco, the inhabitants of which place supplied us with provisions. We marched about three leagues on the 27th, when we halted at the foot of a ridge of mountains, finding the weather extremely cold. Early next day we began to ascend the mountains, the bad roads having been made more difficult by the enemy, by means of ditches and felled trees, which were removed by the exertions of our allies. We proceeded with the utmost order and precaution, having an advanced guard of musketeers and crossbow-men, and our allies cleared the way to enable our cavalry to advance. After passing the summit of the mountain, we enjoyed the glorious prospect of the vale of Mexico below, with the lakes, the capital rising out of the waters, and all its numerous towns and cultivated fields; and gave thanks to God, who had enabled us again to behold this astonishing scene of riches and population, after passing through so many dangers. We could distinctly perceive numerous signals made by smoke in all the towns towards Mexico; and a little farther on, we were resisted by a body of the enemy, who endeavoured to defend a bad pass at a deep water-run, where the wooden bridge had been broken down; but we soon drove them away, and passed over, as the enemy contented themselves with shooting their arrows from a considerable distance. Our allies pillaged the country as we went along, which was contrary to the inclination of our general, but he was unable to restrain them. From some prisoners whom we had taken at the broken bridge, we were informed that a

1 According to Clavigero, II. 135, the Spanish force at this time amounted to forty cavalry, divided into four troops, and 550 infantry, in nine companies: But he swells the auxiliary force of the Tlascalans to 110,000 men.—E.

a large body of the enemy was posted on our line of march, intending to give us battle; but it appeared afterwards that they had separated in consequence of dissentions among the chiefs, and we soon learnt that a civil war actually existed between the Mexicans and the state of Tezcuco. The small-pox also raged at this time in the country, which had a great effect in our favour, by preventing the enemy from being able to assemble their forces.

Next morning we proceeded on our march for Tezcuco, which was about two leagues from the place where we had halted for the night; but we had not proceeded far, when one of our patroles brought intelligence that several Indians were coming towards us bearing signals of peace, and indeed we found the whole country through which we marched this day in perfect tranquillity. On the arrival of the Indians, we found them to consist of seven chiefs from Tezcuco, sent as ambassadors by Coanacotzin, the prince of Tezcuco or Acolhuacan. A golden banner was carried before them on a long lance, which was lowered on approaching Cortes, to whom the ambassadors bowed themselves in token of respect. They then addressed our general in the name of their prince, inviting us to his city, and requesting to be received under our protection. They denied having taken any part in the attacks which we had experienced, earnestly entreating that no injury might be done to their city by our allies, and presented their golden banner to Cortes, in token of peace and submission. Three of these ambassadors were known to most of us, as they were relations of Montezuma, and had been captains of his guards, when we were formerly at Mexico. The ambassadors were assured by Cortes that he would use his utmost efforts to protect the country, although they must well know that above forty Spaniards and two hundred of our allies had been put to death in passing through their territories when we retreated from Mexico. Cortes added, that certainly no reparation could now be made for the loss of our men, but he expected they would restore the gold and other property which had been taken on that occasion. They asserted that the whole blame of that transaction was owing to Cuitlahuatzin, the successor of Montezuma, who had received the spoil and sacrificed the prisoners. Cortes found that very little satisfaction could be got from them for the past, yet wishing if possible to make them now our friends, he earnestly entreated the Tlascalan chiefs to prohibit their warriors

riors from pillaging the country, and his wishes were strictly complied with, except in regard to provisions. After this conference was ended, we proceeded to a village named Guatinchan or Huexotla, at a small distance from Tezcuco, where we halted for the night.

Next morning, being the 31st December 1520, we marched into Tezcuco, where neither women or children were to be seen, and even the men had a suspicious appearance, indicating that some mischief was intended against us. We took up our quarters in some buildings which consisted of large halls and inclosed courts, and orders were issued that none of the soldiers were to go out of their quarters, and that all were to be on the alert to guard against surprize. On the soldiers being dismissed to their respective quarters, the captains Alvarado and De Oli, with some soldiers, among whom I was, went up to the top of a lofty temple, from which we had a commanding view, to observe what was going on in the neighbourhood. We could see all the people everywhere in motion, carrying off their children and effects to the woods and the reedy borders of the lake, and to great numbers of canoes. Cortes wished to have secured Coanacotzin, who had sent us the friendly embassy, which now appeared to have been merely a pretext to gain time; but it was found that he and many of the principal persons of Tezcuco had fled to Mexico. We posted strong guards, therefore, in every direction, and kept ourselves in constant readiness for action. Cortes soon learnt that factions existed in Tezcuco, and that many of the chiefs were adverse to their present prince, and remained in their houses, while those of the opposite faction had withdrawn. Cortes sent for those chiefs next morning, from whom he learnt, that they considered their present prince, Coanacotzin, as an usurper, he having murdered his elder brother, Cuicutzcatzin, who had been placed on the throne by Montezuma and Cortes, and that Coanacotzin owed his elevation to the favour of Guatimotzin, the present sovereign of Mexico. They pointed out a youth named Ixtlilxochitl as the rightful heir of Acolhuacan, who was brought immediately to Cortes, and installed without delay in the government. Cortes prevailed upon him to become a Christian, and had him baptised with great solemnity, standing godfather on the occasion, and giving him his own name, Don Hernando Cortes Ixtlilxochitl; and to retain him in the Spanish interest and in our holy faith, he appointed

ted three Spaniards to attend upon him, Escobar, who was made captain or governor of Tezcuco, Anthonio de Villa Real, and Pedro Sanches Farfan. In the next place, Cortes required the new prince of Tezcuco to supply him with a number of labourers to open up the canals leading to the lake, on purpose to admit our vessels which were to be put together at Tezcuco. He also informed him of our intentions to besiege Mexico, for which operation the young prince engaged to give all the assistance in his power. The work on the canals was conducted with all expedition, as we never had less than seven or eight thousand Indians employed [2]. As Guatimotzin, the reigning monarch of Mexico, frequently sent out large bodies of troops in canoes on the lake, apparently with the hope of attacking us unprepared, Cortes used every military precaution to guard against any sudden attack, by assigning proper posts to our several captains, with orders to be always on the alert. The people in Huexotla, a town and district only a few miles from Tezcuco, who had been guilty of murdering some of our countrymen on a former occasion, petitioned Cortes for pardon, and were taken into favour on promise of future fidelity.

Before his elevation to the throne of Mexico, Guatimotzin had been prince or cacique of Iztapalapa, the people of which place were determined enemies to us and our allies [3]. We had been now twelve days in Tezcuco, where the presence of so large a force occasioned some scarcity of provisions, and even our allies began to grow somewhat impatient of

2 In the very imperfect maps of Diaz and Clavigero, Tezcuco is placed near the mouth of a rivulet which discharges itself into the lake of Mexico: In the former, the buildings are represented as extending two miles and a half along the rivulet, and coming close to the edge of the lake; but the map of Clavigero has no scale. In the map given by Humboldt, Tezcuco is placed on a rising ground, near two miles from the edge of the lake. But the lake has since the time of Cortes been much diminished in extent by a grand drain, insomuch that Mexico, formerly insulated, is now a mile and a half from the lake.—E.

3 On this occasion Diaz mentions the inhabitants of Chalco, Tlalmalanco, Mecameca, and Chimaloacan, as the allies of the Spaniards; but these states do not appear to have submitted to the Spaniards till afterwards. Cortes employed the interval, from his arrival at Tezcuco in the end of December 1520, to the investment of Mexico, at the end of May 1521, five months, in detaching a great number of the native states from their dependence upon Mexico.—E.

of our inactivity. From all these considerations, Cortes determined upon an expedition to Iztapalapa, against which place he marched at the head of 13 cavalry 220 infantry, and the whole of our Tlascalan allies. The inhabitants had received a reinforcement of 8000 Mexican warriors, yet they fell back into the town on our approach, and even fled into their canoes and the houses which stood in the water, allowing us to occupy that part of the town which stood on the firm land. As it was now night, we took up our quarters for the night and posted our guards, unaware of a stratagem which had been planned for our destruction. On a sudden there came so great a body of water into the streets and houses, that we had been all infallibly drowned if our friends from Tezcuco had not given us instant notice of our danger. The enemy had cut the banks of the canals, and a causeway also, by which means the place was laid almost instantly under water. We escaped with some difficulty, two only of our allies being drowned; but all our powder was destroyed, and we passed a very uncomfortable night, without food, and all wet and very cold; and were very much provoked at the laughter and taunts of the Mexicans from the lake. At daybreak, large bodies of Indians crossed over from Mexico and attacked us with such violence, that they killed two of our soldiers and one horse, and wounded many of us, and were repelled with much difficulty. Our allies also suffered considerable loss on this occasion; but the enemy were at last repulsed, and we returned to Tezcuco very little satisfied with the fame or profit of this fruitless expedition. Two days after our retreat from Iztapalapa, the inhabitants of these neighbouring districts, Tepetezcuco, Obtumba or Otompan, and some others in that quarter, sent to solicit pardon for the hostilities they had formerly committed against us, alleging in excuse that they had acted by the orders of their sovereign Cuitlahuatzin, the immediate successor of Montezuma. Cortes, knowing that he was not in a situation to chastise them, granted them pardon on promise of future obedience. The inhabitants also of a place which we named Venezuela, or Little Venice, because built in the water, who had been always at variance with the Mexicans, now solicited our alliance, and engaged to bring over their neighbours to our party. This circumstance was of much importance to our views, from the situation of that place on the lake facilitating our future operations, especially those of our naval force.

We

We soon afterwards received intelligence, that large bodies of Mexican troops had attacked the districts which were in alliance with us, by which the inhabitants were compelled to fly into the woods for shelter, or to take refuge in our quarters. Cortes went out with twenty of our cavalry and two hundred infantry, having Alvarado and De Oli along with him, to drive in the Mexicans. The real cause of contention on the present occasion was concerning the crop of maize growing on the borders of the lake, which was now fit to reap, and from which the natives had been in use to supply our wants, whereas it was claimed by the Mexicans, as belonging to the priests of their city. Cortes desired the natives to inform him when they proposed to cut down this corn, and sent upwards of a hundred of our men and a large body of our allies to protect the reapers. I was twice on that duty, and on one of these occasions, the Mexicans came over to attack us in above a thousand canoes, and endeavoured to drive us from the maize fields; but we and our allies drove them back to their boats, though they fought with great resolution, killed one of our soldiers and wounded a considerable number. In this skirmish, twenty of the enemy were left dead on the field, and we took five prisoners.

Chalco and Tlalmanalco were two places of material importance to us at this time, as they lay in the direct road between Tlascala and our head-quarters at Tezcuco, but both of them were garrisoned by Mexican troops; and though Cortes was at this time solicited by several important districts to enable them to throw off the yoke of Mexico, he considered it as of the first necessity to dislodge the Mexicans from these two towns, on purpose to open a secure communication with our allies, and to cover the transport of our ship timber from Tlascala. He sent therefore a strong detachment of fifteen horse and two hundred infantry under Sandoval and De Lugo, with orders to drive the Mexicans from that part of the country, and to open a clear communication with Villa Rica. During the march, Sandoval placed ten of his men as a rear guard, to protect a considerable number of our allies who were returning home to Tlascala loaded with plunder. The Mexicans fell upon this weak rear-guard by surprise during the march, killing two of our men and wounding all the rest; and though Sandoval made all the haste he could to their rescue, the Mexicans escaped on board their canoes with very little loss. He now placed the Tlascalans in security, by escorting

corting them beyond the Mexican garrisons, and sent forward the letters of our general to the commandant of Villa Rica, by which he was enjoined to send what reinforcements he could possibly spare to Tlascala, there to wait until they were quite certain that the road from thence to Tezcuco was clear. Sandoval, after seeing the Tlascalans safe upon their journey, returned towards Chalco, sending word secretly to the inhabitants, who were very impatient under the Mexican yoke, to be in readiness to join him. He was attacked on his march through a plain covered with maize and *maguey*, by a strong body of Mexican troops, who wounded several of his men; but they were soon repulsed and pursued to a considerable distance by the cavalry. Sandoval now prosecuted his march to Chalco, where he found the cacique of that place had recently died of the small-pox, having recommended his two sons on his deathbed to the protection of Cortes, as he was convinced we were the bearded men who, according to their ancient prophecy, were to come from the eastern countries to rule over this land, and had therefore commanded his sons to receive the investiture of their state from the hands of Cortes. Sandoval set out therefore for Tezcuco next day, talking along with him the two young lords of Chalco, and many of the nobles of that place, carrying a present of golden ornaments to our general worth about 200,000 crowns. Cortes accordingly received the young princes of Chalco with great distinction, and divided their fathers territories between them; giving the city of Chalco and the largest share of the district to the elder brother, and Tlalmanalco, Aytocinco, and Chimalhuacan to the younger.

About this time, Cortes sent a message to Guatimotzin, the reigning sovereign of Mexico, by means of some prisoners whom he enlarged for this purpose, inviting him in the most conciliatory terms to enter into a treaty of peace and friendship; but Guatimotzin refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, and continued to carry on the most determined and unceasing hostility against us. Frequent and loud complaints were made by our allies of Huexotla and Coatlichan of the incursions made upon their territories in the neighbourhood of the lake by the enemy, on the old quarrel about the fields which had been appropriated for the priests who served in the temples of Mexico. In consequence of these hostilities so near our head-quarters, Cortes went with a strong detachment, with which he came up with the enemy

about two leagues from Tezcuco, and gave them so complete a defeat, that they never ventured to shew themselves there any more. It was now resolved to bring the timber which had been prepared in Tlascala for constructing our naval force on the lake of Mexico; for which purpose Sandoval was sent with a force of 200 infantry, including 20 musketeers and crossbow-men, and 15 cavalry, to serve as an escort. He was likewise ordered to conduct the chiefs of Chalco to their own district; and before they set out, Cortes effected a reconciliation between the Tlascalans and the inhabitants of Chalco, who had been long at variance. He gave orders likewise to Sandoval, after leaving the chiefs of Chalco in their own city, to inflict exemplary punishment on the inhabitants of a place which we call *Puebla Moresca*, who had robbed and murdered forty of our men who were marching from Vera Cruz to Mexico, at the time when we went to relieve Alvarado. These people had not been more guilty than those of Tezcuco, who indeed were the leaders in that affair, but they could be more conveniently chastised. The place was given up to military execution, though not more than three or four were put to death, as Sandoval had compassion upon them. Some of the principal inhabitants were made prisoners; who assured Sandoval that the Spaniards were fallen upon by the troops of Mexico and Tezcuco in a narrow pass, where they could only march in single file, and that it was done in revenge for the death of Cacamatzin.

In the temples at this place, our men found the walls and idols smeared with the blood of our countrymen, and the skins of two of their faces with their beards on were found hung upon the altars, having been dressed like leather. The skins also of four of our horses were found hung up as trophies; and they saw written on a piece of marble in the wall of one of the houses: "Here the unfortunate Juan Yuste and many of his companions were made prisoners." Yuste was one of the gentlemen who came over with Narvaez and had served in the cavalry. These melancholy remains filled Sandoval and his men with grief and rage; but there were no objects on which to wreak their vengeance, as all the men were fled, and none remained but women and children, who deprecated their anger in the most moving terms. Sandoval therefore granted them pardon, and sent them to bring back their husbands and fathers, with a promise of forgiveness on condition of submission and future obedience. On questioning

tioning them about the gold they had taken from our people, they assured him it had all been claimed by the Mexicans [4].

Sandoval continued his route towards Tlascala, near which he was met by a vast body of Indians commanded by Chichimecatl, accompanied by Martin Lopez, and employed in transporting the ship timber. Eight thousand men carried the timber all ready shaped for our thirteen vessels, with the sails, cordage, and all other materials. Eight thousand warriors attended in arms to protect the bearers of the timber; and two thousand carried provisions for the whole [5]. Several Spaniards joined us along with this escort, and two other principal chiefs of the Tlascalans, Ayotecatle and Teotlipil. During the march, only some small bodies of the enemy appeared, and these always at a distance; but it was deemed necessary to use the utmost vigilance, to avoid the danger of a surprise, considering the great length of the line of march [6]. Sandoval accordingly sent a strong detachment of Spanish troops as an advanced guard, and posted others on the flanks; while he remained with the rear guard which he assigned to the Tlascalans. This arrangement gave great offence to Chichimecatl; but he was reconciled to this post, on being told that the Mexicans would most probably attack the rear, which was therefore the post of honour, because of more danger. In two days more, the whole escort arrived in safety at Tezcuco; the allies being all dressed out in their gayest habits, with great plumes of feathers, and splendid banners, sounding their horns and trumpets, and beating their drums, as in triumph for the expected fall of Mexico. They continued marching

4 From the circumstance of the gold, it is probable Yuste and his companions had been slain on their retreat from Mexico, not on their way there as stated in the text. From this and other similar incidents, of parties of Spaniards having been slain in different places after the retreat from Mexico, it is highly probable that several detached parties made their escape, who missed forming a junction with Cortes. He, it will be recollected, made a detour round the west and south sides of the lake; and it is probable that they had turned to the east, as the nearest and most direct way to Tlascala and Villa Rica.—E.

5 Clavigero, II. 146, exaggerates the armed escort to 30,000 Tlascalan warriors, commanded by three chiefs, Chichimecatl, Ayotecatl, and Teotlipil. Diaz calls the two last, Teuleticle and Teatical; but though his facts are fully more to be depended upon, Clavigero may be accounted better versant in Mexican orthography.—E.

6 Clavigero, II. 146, quotes Diaz as saying that it extended six miles from front to rear. This may very likely have been the case, but Diaz nowhere specifies the length of the line.—E.

marching into Tezcuco for half a day, amid continual shouts of "Castilla! Castilla! Tlascala! Tlascala! Long live the emperor Don Carlos!" Our timber was now laid down at the docks which had been prepared for this purpose; and, by the exertion of Martin Lopez, the hulls of our thirteen brigantines were very soon completed; but we were obliged to keep a very careful guard, as the Mexicans sent frequent parties to endeavour to set them on fire.

The Tlascalan chiefs were very anxious to be employed on some enterprize against their ancient enemies the Mexicans, and Cortes resolved to indulge them by an expedition against Xaltocan, a town situated on an island of a lake to the northward of the great lake of Mexico or Tezcuco, which is now called the lake of St Christopher. Leaving therefore the charge of the important post of Tezcuco with Sandoval, who was enjoined to use the utmost vigilance, and giving orders to Martin Lopez to have the vessels all ready for launching in fifteen days, he set out on the expedition against Xaltocan with 250 Spanish infantry, 30 cavalry, the whole force of the Tlascalans, and a body of warriors belonging to Tezcuco [7]. On approaching Xaltocan, our army was met by some large bodies of Mexican troops, whom the cavalry soon dispersed and drove into the woods. The troops halted for the night in some villages in a very populous country, and were obliged to keep on the alert, as it was known that the enemy had a strong force in Xaltocan, to which place a strong body of Mexicans had been sent in large canoes, and were now concealed among the deep canals in that neighbourhood. Next morning, on resuming their march, our troops were exceedingly harassed by the enemy, and several of them wounded, as our cavalry had no opportunity to charge them, the ground being much intersected by canals. The only causeway which led from the land to the town had been laid under water, so that our troops could not approach, and our musquetry had little or no effect against the enemy in the canoes, as they were defended by strong screens of timber. Our people began to despair of success, when some of the natives of Tezcuco pointed out a ford with which they were acquainted, by which our people were enabled, under their guidance, to make their way to the causeway leading into the town; leaving Cortes

7 Clavigero says, 350 Spanish infantry, 25 horsemen, and 30,000 Tlascalans, with six small cannon.—E.

Cortes and the cavalry on the main land. Our infantry forced their way into the town, where they made a considerable slaughter of the Mexicans, driving the remainder of them and many of the inhabitants of the town to take shelter in their canoes. They then returned to Cortes, bringing with them a considerable booty in gold, slaves, and mantles, having only lost one soldier in this exploit. Next day, Cortes marched through a thickly peopled and well cultivated country against a large town named Quauhtitlan, which we found deserted, and in which we halted for the night. On the ensuing day, we marched to another large town called Tenayoccan, but which we named *Villa de Serpe*, or the Town of Serpents, on account of some enormous figures of these animals which were found in the temples, and which these people worshipped as gods. This place was likewise deserted by the inhabitants, who had withdrawn with their effects into places of safety. From thence we marched to Escapuzalco, or the town of the goldsmiths, which was also deserted, and thence to Tacuba or Tlacopan, to which our troops had to cut their way through considerable bodies of the enemy. Our troops halted here for the night, and were assailed next morning by several successive bodies of the enemy, who had formed a plan to draw us into an ambuscade, by pretending to take flight along the fatal causeway of Tacuba, where we had suffered so much on our retreat from Mexico. This partly succeeded, as Cortes and his troops pursued them along the causeway across one of the bridges, and were immediately surrounded by prodigious numbers of the enemy, some on the land and others in canoes on the water. Cortes soon perceived his mistake, and ordered a retreat, which was made with the utmost firmness and regularity, our men constantly keeping a-front to the enemy and giving ground inch by inch, continually fighting. In the confusion of this surprise, Juan Volante, who carried the colours, fell from the bridge into the lake, and the Mexicans were even dragging him away to their canoes; yet he escaped from them and brought away his colours. In this unfortunate affair, five of our soldiers were slain, and a great many wounded. Cortes halted for five days at Tacuba [8], during which there were many skirmishes with the enemy, and then marched back to Tezcuco,

8 Clavigero, II. 147, says that Cortes endeavoured at this time, but in vain, to come to an amicable agreement with the court of Mexico.—E.

cuco, the Mexicans continuing to harass him by frequent attacks; but having drawn them on one occasion into an ambuscade, in which they were defeated with considerable slaughter, they desisted from any farther attack. On arriving at our head-quarters in Tezcuco, the Tlascalans, who had enriched themselves with plunder during the expedition, solicited permission to go home that they might secure their acquisitions in their own country, which Cortes readily consented to.

During four days after our return from this expedition, the Indians of several neighbouring districts came in with presents and offers of submission. Although Cortes was well aware that they had been concerned in the murder of our men after the retreat from Mexico, he received them all very graciously, and dismissed them with promises of protection. About this time likewise, several nations who had joined with us in alliance made strong representations of the outrages which had been committed upon them by the Mexicans, of which they produced paintings in their manner, and earnestly entreated succour. But Cortes could not grant them the required assistance, as our army, besides having suffered loss by several being killed and many wounded during the late hostilities, was now grown very unhealthy. He gave them, however, fair promises, but advised them to rely more upon their own exertions and the assistance of our other allies, for which purpose he issued orders to all the districts in our alliance to assemble in arms against the common enemy. They accordingly collected their forces, and came to action in the field with the Mexicans, and exerted themselves with so much vigour that they gained the victory. The province of Chalco was however an object of principal importance to us, as the possession of that country was essentially necessary to preserve our communication with Tlascala and Villa Rica, and being likewise a fertile corn country, contributed largely to the subsistence of our army. As it was much harassed by the enemy, Cortes sent Sandoval with a detachment of about 250 of our troops, cavalry and infantry, to clear it of the Mexicans, and accompanied by a body of warriors from Tezcuco and such of our Tlascalan allies as still remained with our army. Sandoval set out from Tezcuco on the 12th of March 1521, and arrived next morning at Tlalmanalco, where he learnt that the Mexican forces were posted at a large town called Guaztepeque or Huaxtepec. Being now joined by the

warriors of Chalco, Sandoval halted for the night at the town of Chimalcan; and next morning gave orders to his musketeers and crossbow-men to attack the enemy, who were posted in strong ground; the troops who were armed with swords and targets, were formed into a compact body of reserve; and the cavalry, being formed in small bodies of three each, were directed to charge as soon as the firing had made an impression on the enemy. While advancing in this order, Sandoval perceived the Mexican forces drawn up in three large columns or dense battalions, and thought proper to change his original plan, and to endeavour to break through them by a cavalry charge. Placing himself, therefore, at the head of the cavalry, he immediately proceeded to the charge, exclaiming, "St Jago! fall on, comrades!" The main body of the enemy was partly broken by this charge, but immediately closed again and stood firm; and the nature of the ground was so much in favour of the Mexicans, that Sandoval found it necessary to endeavour to drive them from their post in the manner first proposed, into the open ground in the rear. For this purpose he made the musketeers and crossbow-men attack the enemy in front, and those armed with swords and targets to turn their flanks, ordering also the allies to come forward to the attack, and directed the cavalry to be ready to charge at an appointed signal. Our troops at length forced them to retreat, but they immediately occupied another strong position in their rear, so that Sandoval and the cavalry were unable to make any considerable impression upon them. In one of the charges in this difficult broken ground, the horse of Gonzalo Dominguez fell with him, and he was so much injured that he died in a few days afterwards: His loss was much regretted by the army, as he was esteemed as brave as either Sandoval or De Oli. Our army broke the enemy a second time, and pursued them to the town, where they were suddenly opposed by not less than 15,000 fresh warriors, who endeavoured to surround our troops: But Sandoval caused them to be attacked on both flanks, when they fled towards the town, endeavouring however to make a stand behind some recently constructed works; but our troops followed them up so vigorously that they had no time to rally, and were constrained to take shelter in the town. As his troops were much fatigued, and had got hold of a good supply of provisions, Sandoval thought proper to allow them some repose, and they began to prepare

their victuals, in which they were soon interrupted by an alarm of the enemy approaching. They were ready for action in a moment, and advanced to meet the enemy, fortunately in an open place; where, after a smart action, the enemy were constrained to retreat behind their works; but Sandoval pushed on the advantage with so much impetuosity, that he soon drove them from their works, and compelled them to evacuate the town with the utmost precipitation.

Sandoval took up his quarters in a very extensive and magnificent garden, which contained a number of large handsome buildings, and many admirable conveniencies fit for the residence of a great prince; but our soldiers had not then time to examine all its beauties, as it was more than a quarter of a league in length. I was not in this expedition, being confined under cure of a bad wound in my throat, which I received by a lance in the affair at Iztapalapa, and of which I still carry the marks; but I saw this fine garden about twenty days afterwards, when I accompanied Cortes to this place. Not being on this expedition, I do not in my narrative say *we* and *us* on this occasion, but *they* and *them*; yet every thing I relate is perfectly true, as all the transactions of every enterprize were regularly reported at headquarters. Sandoval now summoned all the neighbouring districts to submit, but to little purpose, as the people of Acapistlan or Jacapichtla answered by a defiance. This gave much uneasiness to our allies of Chalco, as they were assured the Mexicans would immediately attack them again on the Spaniards returning to Tezcuco. Sandoval was rather averse from engaging in any new enterprize, as a great number of his men were wounded, and the soldiers of Narvaez disliked risks of every kind; but our allies of Chalco were anxious to reduce that place, and were strongly supported in this opinion by Luis Marin, a wise and valiant officer; and as the distance was only two leagues, Sandoval acquiesced. On his advance, the enemy assailed him with their missile weapons, and then retired to their strong post in the town. Our allies were not very much disposed to attack the works, in which the Spaniards shewed them the way, some even of the cavalry dismounting to fight on foot, and leaving the rest in the plain to protect the rear. Our people at length carried the place, but had a good many wounded in the assault, even Sandoval himself. Though our allies were rather tardy in the assault, they made up for it after

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the place was carried, saving the Spaniards the trouble of putting the enemy to death; and indeed we often blamed the ferocious cruelty of our allies, from whom we saved many of our Indian enemies. At this time indeed, our countrymen thought themselves better employed in searching for gold and taking good female prisoners, than in butchering a parcel of poor wretches who no longer attempted any defence.

Sandoval returned to Tezcuco with many slaves and considerable plunder, and just as he arrived at head-quarters, even before he had time to make a report to Cortes of the success of his late expedition, an express arrived from Chalco with information that they were in a more perilous situation than before. Guatimotzin was enraged at the defection of the inhabitants of Chalco, and determined to inflict upon them the most exemplary chastisement. For this purpose, he sent a force of 20,000 Mexican warriors across the lake in 2000 canoes, with orders to lay waste the whole district with fire and sword. On the communication of this intelligence to Cortes, he was exceedingly enraged at Sandoval, believing that this had been occasioned by his negligence, and he gave him orders to return instantly to the defence of Chalco, refusing even to hear his relation of what he had already done. Sandoval was much hurt at this treatment, yet went back to Chalco with all possible expedition; but found the business over before his arrival, as the inhabitants of that province, having summoned their neighbours to their aid, had already repelled the Mexican invasion, and Sandoval had only to return to head-quarters with the prisoners.

At this period a proclamation was issued, by which all the soldiers were ordered to bring in the Indian prisoners to be branded, and to pay for them the royal dues. I have already mentioned the treatment we formerly met with at Tepeaca on a similar occasion, but we were worse used now at Tezcuco if possible. In the first place a fifth was taken away for the king; then another fifth for Cortes; and, what was still worse, most of the good female slaves were abstracted during the night. We had been promised that all the slaves should be rated according to their value; but the officers of the crown valued them as they thought proper, and at a most exorbitant rate. In consequence of this, the poor soldiers for the future passed their slaves as servants, denying that they were prisoners of war, to avoid the heavy

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duty; and such as were in favour with Cortes, often got their slaves marked privately, paying him the composition. Many of the slaves who happened to fall to bad masters, or such as had a bad reputation, used to run away; but their owners always remained debtors for their estimated value in the royal books, so that many were more in debt on this account than all the value of their share in the prize gold could pay for. About this time likewise, a ship arrived at Villa Rica from Spain with arms and gunpowder, in which came Julian de Alderete, who was sent out as royal treasurer. In the same vessel came the elder Orduna, who brought out five daughters after the conquest, all of whom were honourably married. Fra. Melgarejo de Urrea, also, a Franciscan friar, came in this vessel, bringing a number of papal bulls, to quiet our consciences from any guilt we might have incurred during our warfare: He made a fortune of these in a few months, and returned to Spain. Several other persons came by this vessel, among whom were, Antonio Caravajal, who still lives in Mexico, though now very old; Geronimo Ruyz de la Mora; one Briones who was hanged about four years afterwards for sedition at Guatimala; and Alonzo Diaz, who now resides in Valladolid. We learned by this ship, with infinite satisfaction, that the bishop of Burgos had been deprived of all power over the affairs of the West Indies, as his majesty had been much displeased with his conduct in regard to our expedition, after having received a true account of our eminent services.

Scarcely were we apprised of the success of the inhabitants of Chalco and their confederates, when a new urgent message arrived from Chalco for assistance against a fresh invasion of the Mexicans. The brigantines intended for securing the command of the lake were now ready to launch, and we were all anxious to commence the siege of Mexico, yet Cortes was sensible of the importance of Chalco to the success of our ultimate operations, and determined to march in person to its support. Leaving the command in Tezcuco to Sandoval, Cortes marched for Chalco on Friday the 5th of April 1521, at the head of 300 infantry, including twenty crossbow-men and fifteen musketeers, with thirty cavalry, and a large body of the auxiliaries of Tezcuco and Tlascala, meaning to clear the district of Chalco and the environs of the lake from the Mexicans. In this expedition, our general was accompanied by the treasurer Alderete, Melgarejo the Franciscan friar,

with the captains Alvarado de Oli, and Tapia, and I also was on this expedition. We halted during the first night at Tlalmanalco, and reached Chalco next day, when Cortes convened all the chiefs of that state, to whom he communicated his intention of proceeding very soon to attack Mexico, in which they engaged to give him all the assistance in their power. We continued our march next day to Chimalhuecan or Chimalacoan, a town in the province of Chalco, where above twenty thousand warriors had assembled to join us, belonging to our allies of Chalco, Guaxocingo, Tlascala, Tezcuco, and other places, being the largest body of our allies that I had hitherto seen together. These were attracted by the hope of plunder, and by a voracious appetite for human flesh, just as the vultures and other birds of prey follow our armies in Italy, in order to feast on dead bodies after a battle.

At this place we were informed that the Mexican forces, and their allies or subjects in that neighbourhood, were in the field to oppose us. Cortes therefore issued orders to the army to be always ready for action at a moments warning, and we proceeded on our march next morning early, after hearing mass, our route lying between two ridges of rocks, the summits of which were fortified and filled with large bodies of the enemy [9], who endeavoured by outcries and reproaches to incite us to attack them. But we pursued our march to Guaztepeque or Huaxtepec, a large town on the southern declivity of the mountains, which we found abandoned. Beyond this place we came to a plain in which water was very scarce, on one side of which was a lofty rock having a fortress on the summit which was filled with troops, who saluted us on our approach with showers of arrows and stones, by which three of our soldiers were wounded at the first discharge. Cortes ordered us to halt, and sent a party of cavalry to reconnoitre the rock, who reported on their return that the side where we then were seemed the most accessible. We were then ordered to the attack, Corral preceding

9 In this expedition Cortes appears, by the information of Clavigero, II. 152, to have crossed the southern mountains of the Mexican vale, and to have reduced Huastepec, Jautepec, Quauhnahuac, and other towns belonging to the Tlahuicas, who were subject to the Mexican empire; thus judiciously using his endeavours to strengthen his own party and to weaken that of the Mexicans, before proceeding to assail the capital of that powerful empire.—E.

ceding us with the colours, and Cortes remained on the plain with our cavalry to protect the rear. On ascending the mountain, the Indians threw down great fragments of rock, which rolled among us and rebounded over our heads in a most frightful manner, so that it was wonderful how any of us escaped. This was a most injudicious attack, and very unlike the usual prudence of our general. One soldier, named Martin Valenciano, though defended by a helmet, was killed at my side. As we continued to ascend, three more soldiers, Gaspar Sanches, one named Bravo, and Alonzo Rodriguez, were slain, and two others knocked down, most of the rest being wounded, yet we continued to ascend. I was then young and active, and followed close behind our ensign, taking advantage of any hollows in the rock for shelter. Corral was wounded in the head, having his face all covered with blood, and the colours he bore were all torn to rags. "Senor Diaz," said he to me, "let us remain under cover, for it is impossible to advance, and it is all I can do to keep my hold." On looking down, I noticed Pedro Barba the captain of our crossbows climbing up with two soldiers, and taking advantage as we had done of the concavities of the rock. I called to him not to advance, as it was impossible to climb much farther, and utterly out of our power to gain the summit. He replied in lofty terms, to keep silence and proceed; on which I exerted myself and got a good way higher, saying we should see what he would do. At this moment a shower of large fragments of rocks came tumbling down, by which one of the soldiers along with Barba was crushed to death, after which he did not stir a step higher. Corral now called out to those below, desiring them to report to the general that it was utterly impossible to advance, and that even retreat was infinitely dangerous. On learning this, and being informed that most of us were wounded and many killed, as he could not see us on account of the inequalities of the rock, Cortes recalled us by signal, and we came back in a very bloody and bruised condition, eight of our party having been slain. Three even of the cavalry were killed on the plain and seven wounded, by the masses of rock, which rebounded to a great distance after their descent from so great a height.

Numerous bodies of Mexicans were lying in wait for us, intending to have attacked us while engaged in the ascent, and

and now advanced towards us in the plain; but we soon drove them before us, on which they took shelter among some other rocky ridges. We pursued them through some narrow passes among the rocks, and found they had taken shelter in another very strong fortress, similar to that from which we had been repulsed. We desisted for the present, and returned to our former post in search of water, our men and horses having been unable to procure any during the whole of this day. We found some appearance of springs at the foot of the rock, but they had been drawn dry by the great numbers of the enemy, and nothing remained but mud. Being under the necessity of endeavouring to procure water, we returned again to the second fortress, which was about a league and a half from the first, where we found a small village with a grove of mulberry trees, in which we discovered a very scanty spring. The people above discharged their missile weapons on our approach, seeming to be much more numerous than in the former place, and they were so situated that no shot from us could reach them. For some way up the rock, there were evident paths, but it seemed to present insurmountable difficulties against any attack. Fortunately for us there was another rock which commanded that on which the enemy were posted, and within shot, to which all our fire-arms and crossbows were detached, and the rest of our infantry proceeded to climb up the garrisoned rock slowly and with infinite difficulty. The enemy might easily have destroyed us by rolling down fragments of rocks on our heads, but their attention was called off from their main defence by our missiles, though rather at too great distance to produce much effect; yet having killed several of the enemy, they lost heart and offered to submit. On this, Cortes ordered five of their chiefs to come down, and offered to pardon them for their hostile resistance, on condition that they should induce those in the other fortress to surrender, which they accordingly engaged for. Cortes then sent the captains Xaramillo and de Ircio, with the ensign Corral and a party of men, among whom I was, to ascend the rock which had surrendered, giving us orders not to touch a grain of maize. I considered this as full permission to do ourselves all the good in our power. We found this fortress to consist of an extensive plain on the summit of a perpendicular rock, the entrance to which did not exceed twice the size of the mouth of an oven. The whole plain was full of men, women,

and children, but they had not a drop of water. Twenty of their warriors had been slain by our shot, and a great many wounded. All their property was packed up in bales, among which there was a considerable quantity of tribute, which had been collected on purpose to be sent to Mexico. I had brought four of my Indian servants along with me, whom I began to load, and four of the natives whom I engaged in my service; but Captain De Ircio ordered me to desist, or he would report me to the general, putting me in mind that Cortes had forbidden us to touch a grain of maize. I answered that I had distinctly heard the orders about the maize, and for that reason I took the bales. But he would not allow me to carry any thing away, and reported me on our return to Cortes, expecting I should receive a reprimand; Cortes, however, observed that he was sorry I had not got the plunder, as the dogs would laugh at us and keep their property, after all the evil they had done us. De Ircio then proposed to return; but Cortes said it was not now time. The chiefs now returned from the other fortress, having induced its garrison to submit; and we returned to Huaxtepec that we might procure water. Our whole force was lodged for the night in the buildings belonging to the noble garden which I formerly mentioned, and I certainly never saw one of such beauty and magnificence. Our general and others who walked over all its extent, declared that it was most admirably disposed, and equalled the most magnificent they had ever seen in Spain.

We marched next day towards the city of Cuernabaca or Quauhnahuac. The Mexicans who occupied that place came out to fight us, but were soon defeated and pursued to Teputztlan or Tepatlan, which we took by storm, and made a considerable booty of Indian women and other spoils. Cortes summoned the chiefs of this place to come in and submit; and on their refusal, and on purpose to impress the inhabitants of other places with terror, he ordered about the half of this town to be set on fire. At this time, the chiefs of a town called Yauhtepec came to Cortes and made their submission. Next day, we returned to Cuernabaca, which is a large town in a very strong situation, being defended by a deep ravine with a small rivulet, which precludes all access except by two bridges, which the inhabitants had broken down on our approach. Cortes was informed of a ford about half a league above the town which was practicable for the cavalry,

cavalry, to which he marched, by which the main strength of the enemy was drawn off to oppose him. We of the infantry searched for means to pass the ravine, and at length discovered a very dangerous pass by means of some trees which hung over from both sides, by the help of which about thirty of us and a considerable number of our Tlascalan allies got across. Three fell into the ravine, one of whom broke his leg. It was a most terrifying passage, and at one time I was quite blind with giddiness. Having got over and formed, we fell unexpectedly on the flank and rear of the enemy, and being now joined by a party of the cavalry, we soon drove the enemy from the field into the neighbouring woods and rocks. We found considerable property in the town, and we were here all lodged in the buildings of a large garden belonging to the cacique of the district. A deputation of twenty of the chiefs of the Tlahuican nation now waited on Cortes, offering to submit their whole country to his authority, and threw all the blame of their hostilities on the Mexicans.

The object of our next march was against Xochimilco, a large city on the fresh water lake of Chalco, in which most of the houses are built. As it was late before we left Quauhnahuac, and the weather was exceedingly sultry, our troops suffered excessively for want of water, which was not to be procured on our route. Many of our allies fainted, and one of them, and also one of our soldiers died of thirst. Seeing the distress of the army, Cortes ordered a halt in a pine forest, and sent forwards a party in search of relief. As I saw my friend De Oli about to set off, I took three of my Indian servants and followed the party, who endeavoured to persuade me to return; but I was resolute, and De Oli at length consented, telling me I should have to fight my way. At the distance of about half a league our cavalry came to some villages on the side of a ridge of mountains, where they found water in the houses, and one of my servants brought me a large jar full of water. Having quenched my thirst, I now determined to return, as the natives had taken the alarm, and were gathering to attack us. I found Cortes just about to resume the march, and gave him and the officers who were with him a hearty draught from my jar. The whole army now moved forward to the villages, where a scanty supply of water was procured. It was now near sunset, and the cavalry came in with a report that the whole

country had risen against us, on which account we halted here for the night, which was very rainy with much wind, as I well remember, being on the night guard. Several of our soldiers were taken ill here with inflammation of their mouth and throat, owing to their having eaten a species of artichoke to quench their thirst.

We resumed our march early next morning, and arrived about eight o'clock at Xochimilco [10]. I can give no idea of the prodigious force of the enemy which was collected at this place to oppose us. They had broken down the bridges, and fortified themselves with many parapets and pallisades, and many of their chiefs were armed with the swords which we lost during our flight from Mexico, which they had polished very nicely. The attack at the bridge lasted above half an hour, several of our people getting across by swimming, in which attempt some were drowned, and we were assailed at once in front and rear and on both flanks. At length our cavalry got on firm ground, after losing several men, and we drove the enemy before us; but just at this time a fresh reinforcement of at least 10,000 Mexicans arrived, and received the charge of the cavalry with great intrepidity, and wounded four of our men. At this moment the good chesnut horse on which Cortes rode fell under him among a crowd of the enemy, who knocked him down, and great numbers gathering around were carrying him off, when a body of our Tlascalan allies came up to his rescue, headed by the valiant De Oli, and remounted him, after he had been severely wounded in the head. De Oli also received three desperate sword wounds from the enemy. As all the streets of the town were full of Mexican warriors, we had to divide into a number of separate bodies in order to fight them; but we who were nearest the place in which our general was in such danger, being alarmed by the uncommon noise and outcry, hurried there, where they found him and about fifteen of the cavalry in a very embarrassing situation, amid parapets and canals where the horse had no freedom to act. We immediately attacked the enemy, whom we forced to give ground, and brought off Cortes and De Oli. On first

10 This beautiful city was the largest in the vale of Mexico, after the capital and the royal residences of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, and was famous for its floating gardens, whence it derived its name, signifying flower gardens in the Mexican language.---Clavig. II. 155.

first passing at the bridge, Cortes had ordered the cavalry to act in two divisions on purpose to clear our flanks: They returned at this time all wounded, and reported that the enemy were so numerous and desperate, that all their efforts were unavailing to drive them away. At the time the cavalry came in, we were in an enclosed court, dressing our wounds with rags and burnt oil; and the enemy sent in such showers of arrows among us that hardly any escaped being wounded. We all now sallied out upon the enemy, both cavalry and infantry, and made considerable havoc among them with our swords, so that we drove them away and they gave over their attempt to storm our post. Having now some relaxation, Cortes brought our whole force to the large enclosures in which the temples were situated; and on some of us ascending to the top of one of the temples, where we had a commanding view of Mexico and the lake, we perceived about two thousand canoes full of troops coming to attack us. A body of ten thousand men were likewise seen in full march by land for the same purpose, and the enemy had already fully that number in and about the town. We learned from five chiefs whom we had made prisoners, that this immense force was destined to assault our quarters that night; for which reason strong guards were posted at all the places where the enemy were expected to disembark; the cavalry were held in readiness to charge upon them on the roads and firm ground; and constant patroles were kept going about during the night. I was posted along with ten other soldiers to keep guard at a stone and lime wall which commanded one of the landing-places, and while there we heard a noise occasioned by the approach of a party of the enemy, whom we beat off, sending a report to Cortes by one of our number. The enemy made a second attempt, in which they knocked down two of our men; but being again repulsed, they made an attempt to land at a different place, where there was a small gate communicating with a deep canal. The night was extremely dark, and as the natives were not accustomed to fight in the night time, their troops fell into confusion; and instead of making their attack in two opposite places at the same time, they formed in one body of at least 15,000 men.

When our report reached Cortes, he came to us attended by nine or ten of the cavalry, and as he did not answer my challenge, I and my comrade Gonzalo Sanchez, a Portuguese from

from Algarve, fired three or four shots at them; on which knowing our voices, Cortes observed to his escort, that this post did not require to be inspected, as it was in charge of two of his veterans. He then observed that our post was a dangerous one, and continued his rounds without saying any more. I was afterwards told that one of the soldiers of Narvaez was whipped this very night for negligence on his post. As our powder was all expended, we were ordered to prepare a good supply of arrows for the crossbows, and were employed all the rest of the night in heading and feathering these, under the direction of Pedro Barba, who was captain of the crossbow-men. At break of day the enemy made a fresh attack and killed one Spaniard, but we drove them back, killing several of their chiefs, and took a great many prisoners. Our cavalry had been ordered out to charge the Mexicans, but finding them in great force, they sent back for assistance. The whole of our army now sallied forth and completely defeated the enemy, from whom we took several prisoners. From these men, we learned that the Mexicans intended to weary us out by reiterated attacks, on which account it was resolved to evacuate the place next day. In the mean time, having information that the town contained much wealth, we got some of the prisoners to point out the houses in which it was contained, which stood in the water of the fresh water lake, and could only be approached by small bridges over the canals, leading from a causeway. A considerable number both of our men and of the allies went to these houses, from which they brought away a great deal of booty in cotton cloth and other valuable articles, and this example was followed by others. While thus employed, a body of Mexicans came upon them unexpectedly in canoes, and besides wounding many of our men, they seized four soldiers alive, whom they carried off in triumph to Mexico; and from these men Guatimotzin learnt the smallness of our number, and the great loss we had sustained in killed and wounded. After questioning them as much as he thought proper, Guatimotzin commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and sent them in this mutilated condition through many of the surrounding districts, as an example of the treatment he intended for us all, and then ordered them to be put to death.

On the ensuing morning we had to sustain a fresh attack, as had regularly been the case during the four days we re-

remained

mained in Xochimilco, but which we now determined to quit. Before commencing our march, Cortes drew up the army in an open place a little way out of the town, in which the markets were held, where he made us a speech, in which he expatiated on the dangers we had to encounter in our march, and the strong bodies of the enemy we might expect to oppose our retreat, and then warmly urged us to leave all our plunder and luggage, that we might not be exposed to danger in its defence. We remonstrated, however, that it would be a cowardly act to abandon what we had so hardly won, declaring that we felt confident of being able to defend our persons and property against all assailants. He gave way, therefore, to our wishes, and arranged the order of our march, placing the baggage in the centre, and dividing the cavalry and crossbows between the van and rear guards, as our musketry was now useless for want of powder. The enemy harassed us by continual assaults all the way from Xochimilco to Cuyocan, or Cojohuacan, a city on the borders of the lake, near one of the causeways leading to Mexico, which we found abandoned, and where we took up our quarters for two days, taking care of our wounds, and making arrows for our crossbows. The enemy which had especially obstructed us on this march, consisted of the inhabitants of Xochimilco, Cuyocan, Huitzilopochco, Iztapalapa, Mizquic, and five other towns, all of considerable size, and built on the edge of the lake, near one another, and not far from Mexico. On the third morning we marched for Tlacopan or Tacuba, harassed as usual by the enemy, but our cavalry soon forced them to retire to their canals and ditches. During this march, Cortes attempted to lay an ambush for the enemy, for which purpose he set out with ten horsemen and four servants, but had nearly fallen into a snare himself. Having encountered a party a Mexicans who fled before him, he pursued them too far, and was suddenly surrounded by a large body of warriors, who started out from an ambuscade, and wounded all the horses in the first attack, carrying off two of the attendants of Cortes to be sacrificed at Mexico, the rest of the party escaping with considerable difficulty. Our main body reached Tacuba in safety, with all the baggage; but as Cortes and his party did not appear, we began to entertain suspicions of some misfortune having befallen him. On this account, Alvarado, De Oli, Tapia, and I, with some others, went to look for him in the direc-

tion

tion in which we had last seen him. We soon met two of his servants, who informed us of what had happened, and were shortly afterwards joined by Cortes, who appeared extremely sad, and even shed tears.

When we arrived at our quarters in Tacuba, which were in some large enclosed courts, it rained very heavily, and we were obliged to remain exposed for about two hours. On the weather clearing up, the general and his officers, with many of the men who were off duty, went up to the top of the great temple of Tacuba, whence we had a most delightful prospect of the lake, with all its numerous cities and towns, rising as it were out of the water. Innumerable canoes were seen in all directions, some employed in fishing, and others passing with provisions or merchandize of all kinds. We all gave praise to God, who had been pleased to render us the instruments for bringing the numerous inhabitants of so fine a country to the knowledge of his holy name; yet the bloody scenes which we had already experienced in Mexico, filled us with melancholy for the past, and even with some apprehension for the future. These recollections made Cortes exceedingly sad, regretting the many valiant soldiers he had already lost, and the brave men whom he might still expect to fall before he could be able to reduce the great, strong, and populous city of Mexico to submission [11]. Our reverend Father Olmedo endeavoured to console him, and one of our soldiers observed, that such was the fortune of war, and that our general was in a very different situation from Nero, when he contemplated his capital on fire. Cortes replied, that he felt melancholy while reflecting on the fatigues and dangers we should still have to pass through; but that he should soon take effectual measures for bringing the great object in view to a speedy conclusion. Having no particular purpose to serve by remaining in Tacuba, some of our officers and soldiers proposed to take a view of the causeway where we had suffered so severely on the fatal night of our flight from Mexico; but this was considered dangerous and imprudent. We accordingly proceeded on our march by Escapozalco, which was abandoned by the enemy on our approach,

11 Diaz mentions a poem circulated at the time, as beginning in reference to the melancholy of Cortes on this occasion, somewhat in the following strain:

In Tacuba was Cortes, with many a gallant chief;
He thought upon his losses, and bow'd his head with grief.

approach, to Terajoccan, which was also deserted, and thence to Coatitlan or Guatitlan, where we arrived excessively fatigued, as it never ceased raining during the whole of that day. We took up our quarters in that place for the night, which was excessively rainy; and, though the enemy gave us some alarms during the night, I can testify that no proper watch was kept, owing to the inclemency of the weather, as my post was not visited either by rounds or corporal. From Coatitlan, we continued our march by a deep miry road, through four or five other towns, all abandoned, and arrived in two days at Aculman or Oculman, in the territory of Tezcuco, where we received the pleasing intelligence that a reinforcement had arrived to us from Spain. Next day we proceeded to Tezcuco, where we arrived worn out with wounds and fatigue, and even diminished in our numbers.

Soon after our return to Tezcuco, a conspiracy was formed for the assassination of our general, at the head of which was one Antonio de Villafana, an adherent of Velasquez, and some of the other soldiers who had come over with Narvaez, but whose names I do not choose to mention, and the conspirators had even communicated their plan to two principal officers, whom I will not name, one of whom was to have been appointed captain-general on the death of Cortes. They had even arranged matters for the appointment of alguazil-major, alcaldes, regidor, contador, treasurer, veedor, and others of that kind, and of captains and standard-bearer to the army, all from among the soldiers of Narvaez. All the principal adherents of Cortes were to have been put to death, and the conspirators were to have divided our properties, arms, and horses among themselves. This business was revealed to Cortes, only two days after our return to Tezcuco, by the repentance of one of the conspirators, whom he amply rewarded. The general immediately communicated the intelligence to Alvarado, De Oli, Sandoval, Tapia, Luis Marin, and Pedro de Ircio, who were the two alcaldes for the time, also to me, and to all in whom he reposed confidence. We all accompanied Cortes, well armed, to the quarters of Villafana, where he found him and many others of the conspirators, and took him immediately into custody. The others endeavoured to escape, but were all detained and sent to prison. Cortes took a paper from the bosom of Villafana, having the signatures of all his accomplices; but which he afterwards pretended that Villafana had swallowed,

to

to set the minds of the conspirators at rest, as they were too numerous to be all punished in the present weak state of our army. Villafana was immediately tried, and made a full confession; and his guilt being likewise clearly established by many witnesses, the judges, who were Cortes, the two alcaldes, and De Oli, condemned him to die. Having confessed himself to the reverend Juan Diaz, he was hanged from a window of the apartment. No more of the conspirators were proceeded against; but Cortes thought it prudent to appoint a body guard for his future security, selected from among those who had been with him from the first, of which Antonio de Quinones was made captain.

At this period an order was issued for bringing in all our prisoners to be marked, being the third time since we came to the country. If that operation were unjustly conducted the first time, it was worse the second, and this time worse than ever; for besides the two fifths for the king and Cortes, no less than thirty draughts were made for the captains; besides which, all the handsome females we had given in to be marked, were stolen away, and concealed till it became convenient to produce them.

As the brigantines were entirely finished, and the canal for their passage into the lake was now sufficiently wide and deep for that purpose, Cortes issued orders to all the districts in our alliance, near Tezcuco, to send him, in the course of ten days, 8000 arrow-shafts from each district, made of a particular wood, and as many copper heads. Within the appointed time, the whole number required was brought to head-quarters, all executed better than even the patterns. Captain Pedro Barba, who commanded the crossbows, ordered each of his soldiers to provide two cords and nuts, and to try the range of their bows. Cortes ordered all the cavalry to have their lances new-headed, and to exercise their horses daily. He sent likewise an express to the elder Xicotencatl at Tlascala, otherwise called Don Lorenzo de Vargas, to send 20,000 of the warriors of Tlascala, Huixotzinco and Cholula; and he sent similar orders to Chalco and Tlalmanalco; ordering all our allies to rendezvous at Tezcuco on the day after the festival of the Holy Ghost, 28th April 1521. And on that day, Don Hernandez Ixtlilxochitl of Tezcuco, was to join us with all his forces. Some considerable reinforcements of soldiers, horses, arms, and ammunition had arrived from Spain and other places, so that when

 mustered

mustered on the before-mentioned day by Cortes, in the large enclosures of Tezcuco, our Spanish force amounted to the following number: 84 cavalry, 650 infantry, armed with sword and buckler, or pikes, and 194 musketeers and cross-bow-men, in all 928 Spaniards. From this number he selected 12 musketeers or crossbow-men, and 12 of the other infantry, for rowers to each of the vessels, in all 312 men, appointing a captain to each vessel; and he distributed 20 cannoneers through the fleet, which he armed with such guns as we had that were fit for this service. Many of our men had been formerly sailors, yet all were extremely averse from acting as rowers on the present occasion; for which reason the general made inquiry as to those who were natives of sea-ports, or who had formerly been fishers or seafaring men, all of whom he ordered to the oars; and though some of them pled their gentility as an exemption, he would hear of no excuse. By these means he obtained 150 men for this service, who were in fact in a much better situation than we who bore the brunt and danger of the war on land, as will appear in the sequel. When all this was arranged, and the crews embarked along with their commanders, each brigantine hoisted a royal standard, and every one a distinguishing flag. Cortes likewise gave the captains written instructions for their guidance, dividing them into squadrons, each of which was to co-operate with a particular leader of the land forces.

Cortes now issued the following general orders to the army: 1. No person to blaspheme the Lord Jesus, his Virgin Mother, the Holy Apostles, or any of the Saints, under heavy penalties. 2. No soldier to maltreat any of our allies in their persons or properties. 3. No soldier to be absent from quarters on any pretence. 4. Every soldier to keep his arms, both offensive and defensive, in the best order. 5. No soldier to stake his horse or arms in gaming. 6. No soldier to sleep out of his armour, or without his arms beside him, except when disabled by wounds or sickness. Lastly, the penalty of death was denounced for sleeping on guard, for a sentinel quitting his post, for absence from quarters without leave, for quitting the ranks in the field, or for flight in battle.

At this time our allies of Tlascala arrived under the command of Xicotencatl the younger, who was accompanied by his two brothers. Some of the warriors of Huexotzinco and

 Cholula

Cholula came along with the Tlascalans, but not in any great numbers [12], yet the alacrity of our allies was such that they joined us a day previous to that which was appointed by Cortes. They marched in with great military parade, each of the chiefs carrying a standard with their national device, a white spread eagle, and they were all in high spirits, shouting out, Castilla! Castilla! Tlascala! Tlascala! From the arrival of their van, till the rear came in, took up three hours. Cortes received them with great courtesy, promising to make them all rich on their return to their native country, and dismissed them with many compliments to their respective quarters.

Cortes made the following arrangement of our land army for the investment of Mexico, distributing our forces in three separate divisions, under the respective commands of Alvarado, De Oli, and Sandoval, reserving to himself to act where his presence might be most necessary, and taking in the mean time the command of the fleet. Pedro de Alvarado, under whom I served, had 150 infantry, 30 cavalry, 18 musketeers and crossbow-men, and 8000 Tlascalans, and was ordered to take post at Tacuba, having three captains under his command, his brother Jorge de Alvarado, Pedro Guttierrez, and Andres de Monjara, having each a company of 50 infantry, with a third of the musketeers and crossbow-men, the cavalry being commanded by Alvarado in person.—Christoval de Oli commanded the second division, having under him Andres de Tapia, Francisco Verdugo, and Francisco de Lugo, with 175 infantry, 30 cavalry, 20 musketeers and crossbows, and 8000 of our Indian allies. This division was ordered to take post at Cuyoacan or Cojohuacan.—The third division, under the command of Gonzalo de Sandoval, who had under him captains Luis Marin and Pedro de Ircio, consisted of 150 infantry, 24 cavalry, 14 musketeers and crossbows, and above 8000 Indian warriors, was to take post at Iztapalapa. The division of Alvarado and De Oli were ordered to march from Tezcuco by the right, going round the northern side of the lake, and the third, under Sandoval, by the left, to the south end of the lake; and his march

12 Clavigero, II. 159, carries the number of allies which joined Cortes on this occasion, to more than 200,000 men. In his enumeration of the several divisions of the army appointed for the investment of Mexico, Diaz makes the Indian allies very little more than 24,000 warriors.—E.

march being much shorter, he was ordered to remain in Tezcuco until Cortes should sail out with the fleet [13].

Before setting out on their march, Alvarado and De Oli directed our Indian allies to go on a day before us, that we might not be interrupted by their numbers, and ordered them to wait for us when they reached the Mexican territory. While on their march, Chichimecatl remarked that Xicotencatl, the commander in chief of the Tlascalans was absent; and it was found that he had secretly gone off from Tezcuco for Tlascala on the preceding night, in order to take possession of the territory and property of Chichimecatl, thinking this a good opportunity during the absence of that chief and his warriors, and being in no apprehension of any opposition, now that Maxicatzin was dead. Chichimecatl returned immediately to Tezcuco, to inform Cortes of what had taken place; and our general sent five chiefs of Tezcuco and two Tlascalan chiefs, to request Xicotencatl to return. He answered, that if his old father and Maxicatzin had listened to him, they would not have been now domineered over by Cortes and the Spaniards, and absolutely refused to go back. On this haughty answer being reported to Cortes, he immediately sent off an alguazil with four horsemen and five Tezcucan chiefs, ordering them to seize and hang Xicotencatl wherever they could find him. Alvarado interceded strongly for his pardon, but ineffectually; for though Cortes seemed to relent, the party who arrested Xicotencatl in a town subject to Tezcuco, hung him up by private orders from Cortes, and some reported that this was done with the approbation of the elder Xicotencatl, father to the Tlascalan general. This affair detained us a whole day, and on the next the two divisions of Alvarado and De Oli marched by the same route, halting for the night at Aculma or Alcolman, a town belonging to the state of Tezcuco, where a very ruinous quarrel was near taking place between our two commanders and their divisions. De Oli had sent some persons before to take quarters for his troops, and had appropriated every house in the place for his men, marking them by setting up green boughs on the terraces; so that when Alvarado arrived with

13 Diaz mentions, that about this time intelligence came to Tezcuco, that three of our soldiers who had been left by Pizarro to search for mines in the country of the Zapotecas had been put to death by the Mexicans, one only, named Barrientos, having escaped to Chinantla, where he was protected by the natives.—E.

with his division, we had not a single house for us to lodge in. Our soldiers were much irritated at this circumstance, and stood immediately to their arms to fight with those of De Oli, and the two commanders even challenged each other; but several of the more prudent of the officers on both sides interposed, and a reconciliation was effected, yet Alvarado and De Oli were never afterwards good friends. An express was sent off immediately to apprize Cortes of this misunderstanding, who wrote to all the people of any influence in the two divisions, greatly condemning the circumstances of this disagreement, which might have produced fatal consequences to our whole army, and earnestly recommended a reconcilement. We continued our march for two days more, by several Mexican cities, which were abandoned by their inhabitants; and passing through Coatitlan, Tenajoccan and Itzcapuzalco, where our allies waited for us, we proceeded for Tacuba, otherwise called Tlacopan.

SECTION XIII.

Narrative of Occurrences from the commencement of the Siege of Mexico to its Reduction, and the Capture of Guatimotzin.

HAVING thus, by the occupation of Tacuba, commenced the investment of the great and populous city of Mexico, we soon found the enemy around us in great numbers; and as the first operation, it was determined on the following day, that our divisions should march to Chapoltepec to destroy the aqueduct at that place, by which the city of Mexico was supplied with fresh water. We set out accordingly with our allies, and although the enemy attacked us on our march, we repelled them and succeeded in our object of cutting off the pipes, so that from that time the city of Mexico was deprived of fresh water. It was now determined to endeavour to penetrate to the city of Mexico by the causeway of Tacuba, or at least to attempt getting possession of the first bridge on that causeway; but on our arrival there, the prodigious number of boats which covered the water on both sides, and the multitude of Mexican troops which thronged the causeway to oppose us, was perfectly astonishing. By the first flight of arrows which they discharged against us, three of our men were slain and thirty wounded; yet we advanced to the bridge,

bridge, the enemy retiring before us, as if by a concerted stratagem, so that we were exposed on both flanks, on a narrow road only twenty feet wide, as a butt for the innumerable arrows of the Mexicans in the canoes, and neither our musquetry nor crossbows were of any avail against the people in the canoes, as they were effectually protected by high wooden screens. The horses of our cavalry were all wounded, and when at any time they made a charge upon the enemy, they were almost immediately stopt by barriers and parapets which the enemy had drawn across the causeway for the purpose, and from whence they defended themselves with long lances. Likewise, when the infantry advanced along the causeway, instead of abiding our attack, the enemy threw themselves into the water and escaped by swimming or into their canoes, returning incessantly to the attack. We were thus engaged for more than an hour to no useful purpose, the enemy continually increasing in number, by reinforcements from every part of the lake; and our allies, instead of being serviceable, only encumbered the causeway and hindered our movements. Finding that we were unable any longer to resist the multitude of enemies who assailed us perpetually from the water, and almost with entire impunity, we determined to retreat to our quarters in Tacuba, having eight of our men slain and above fifty wounded, and were closely followed up and much harassed by the enemy during our retreat. De Oli laid the blame of the disaster of this day on the rashness of Alvarado.

Next day [1], though we were all extremely solicitous for the two captains to remain together, De Oli proceeded with his division to take possession of Cojohuacan, according to the orders he had received from Cortes; but this separation was assuredly extremely ill judged; as, if the enemy had known the smallness of our numbers at the two stations, they might have fallen upon and destroyed us separately, during the four or five days that we remained divided before the arrival of Cortes with the brigantines. In all that time we never ventured to make any more attempts against the Mexican causeways, but the enemy frequently sent bodies of their troops to the main land to make attacks on our quarters, on which occasions we always drove them away.

Sandoval

1 According to Clavigero, II. 162, the 30th of May 1521, on which day Cortes dated the commencement of this memorable siege.—E.

Sandoval with his division did not leave Tezcuco until the fourth day after the feast of Corpus Christi [2], when he marched through a friendly country by the south side of the lake, and arrived without interruption in front of Iztapalapa. Immediately on his arrival, he commenced an attack on the enemy, and burnt many of the houses in that part of the town which stood on the firm land; but fresh bodies of Mexican warriors came over in canoes and by the causeway of Iztapalapa to relieve their friends in the town, and made a determined resistance against Sandoval. While the engagement was going on, a smoke was observed to arise from a hill above the town, which was answered by similar signals at many other points around the lake, which were afterwards found to have been made to apprize the enemy of the appearance of our flotilla on the lake. On this, the efforts of the enemy against Sandoval were much relaxed, as their canoes and warriors were recalled to oppose our naval force; and Sandoval was thus enabled to take up his quarters in a part of the town of Iztapalapa; between which and Cojohuacan the only means of communication was by a causeway or mound dividing the lake of Chalco from that of Mexico or Tezcuco, which passage was at that time impracticable in the face of the enemy.

"Before proceeding to the narrative of the siege of Mexico, it may be proper to give some account of the situation of the city of Mexico, and the mounds or causeways by which it communicated with the land at the several posts which were occupied by Cortes for its investment [3]. The city of Mexico was built partly on an island and partly in the water, at the west side of a considerable salt lake, named sometimes the lake of Tezcuco, and sometimes the lake of Mexico, and appears to have been about a mile from the firm land. It communicated

2 Corpus Christi fell that year, according to Clavigero, on the 30th May, so that the occupation of Iztapalapa, by which the investment of Mexico was completed, was on the 3d of June.

3 The whole of this topographical account of Mexico and its approaches is added by the editor, and has been placed in the text, distinguished by inverted commas, as too long for a note. A plan is added, constructed from a comparison of the maps in Diaz and Clavigero, both evidently drawn without any actual survey, and corrected by means of the excellent map of the vale of Mexico given by Humboldt. By means of a great drain, made considerably posterior to the conquest, the lake has been greatly diminished in magnitude, insomuch that the city is now above three miles from the lake; so that the accurate map of Humboldt does not now serve for the ancient topography of Mexico and its near environs.—E.

communicated with the land by three mounds or causeways; that of Tepejacac on the north, about three miles long, measuring from the great temple in centre of Mexico; that usually called of Iztapalapa on the south, nearly five miles in length; and that of Tacuba or Tlacopan on the west, about two miles long, likewise measuring from the temple; but at least a mile may be abstracted from each of these measurements, on account of the extent of the city from the great temple to the commencement of the causeways. About the middle of the southern causeway called that of Iztapalapa, another causeway branched off obliquely to the south-east, to the town of Cojohuacan; and at the place where these two causeways united stood the town of Xoloc, partly on the sides of the causeways, but chiefly in the water intersected by canals and ditches. Besides these three grand causeways for communicating with the land, there was a smaller mound about two miles south from the causeway of Tacuba, from a town named Chapoltepec, along which the aqueduct, or pipes, for supplying Mexico with fresh water was carried; but this appears to have been too narrow for allowing any passage, at least the Spaniards do not seem to have availed themselves of it, in their long and arduous endeavours to force their way into Mexico. Near the south-west angle of the salt lake of Mexico, it communicated by a narrow neck or strait with the fresh water lake of Chalco; and at their junction a mound or causeway had been constructed across, to prevent the admixture of the salt and fresh lakes, having a town called Mexicaltzinco at the eastern extremity of this mound. Iztapalapa stood in the western end of the peninsula, between the lakes of Mexico and Chalco, but on the borders and in the waters of the former. The whole fertile vale of Mexico or Anahuac, around these two lakes, and some others to the north of the great lake, was thickly planted with cities, towns, and villages, and highly cultivated, containing and giving subsistence to a prodigious population, The extent of this extraordinary valley, elevated nearly 8000 feet above the level of the sea, is about 50 miles from north to south, and forty miles from east to west; being surrounded on every side by ridges of lofty mountains, some of them perpetually covered with snow, and rising to about 10,000 feet in perpendicular elevation above the ocean."

When Cortes brought out his fleet of brigantines upon the lake, he went in the first place to attack an insular rock close beside

beside Mexico, on which a vast number of the inhabitants of that city and other places in the neighbourhood had taken shelter. Immediately on perceiving his intentions, their whole force collected from every part of the lake, and proceeded against him in not less than 4000 large canoes full of warriors. On perceiving this immense number of boats coming to attack him, Cortes withdrew with his brigantines into an open part of the lake, ordering his captains to wait patiently for a breeze of wind which then began to blow. As the enemy supposed that this movement proceeded from fear, they immediately closed up around the flotilla with shouts of triumph. The wind now sprung up, and the whole fleet made sail through the throng of canoes, plying their oars at the same time, and run down and overset great numbers of the Mexican canoes, compelling all the rest to fly for shelter to the recesses and shallows on the borders of the lake. After this, Cortes made sail to Cojohuacan [4], where he was again attacked by the Mexicans, both by means of their canoes on the water, and from their temples on the land: But Cortes brought four guns to bear upon them, by which he did considerable execution. During this action his powder magazine blew up, owing to some mismanagement of the gunners, by which many of his people were wounded. This unfortunate accident obliged him to detach his smallest brigantine to Sandoval for a supply of ammunition. He remained at Cojohuacan for two days with the flotilla, repairing the injury his ship had sustained from the explosion.

When we were assured that the flotilla was out upon the lake, Alvarado marched out with our division to the causeway of Tacuba, as far as the bridge, in which we were constantly engaged with the enemy to very little purpose, except that we repaired the passes in our rear as we advanced, and did not now suffer the cavalry to come upon the causeway, as we had found by experience that they were of very little service, and besides that their horses were exposed to much danger. Finding that he could not sufficiently annoy the enemy

4 It is hard to guess which way the brigantines could get there, as by the maps both of Diaz and Clavigero, the great double causeway of Xoloc or Iztapalapa, ought to have completely prevented his penetrating to that part of the lake. It was probably Xoloc against which this attack was made, and Diaz may have mistaken the name after an interval of fifty-one years; for so long intervened between the siege of Mexico in 1521, and 1572, when he informs us his history was concluded.—E.

enemy in his present post at Iztapalapa, where the Mexicans had possession of the houses which were built in the water, Sandoval advanced by a causeway to a more commanding situation [5]. When this was noticed from Mexico, a large detachment of warriors came over in canoes, with orders to cut the causeway in the rear of our troops. Cortes observed this, and immediately made sail with his vessels to the relief of Sandoval, giving orders at the same time to De Oli to march a body of troops by the causeway for the same purpose. Having relieved Sandoval by these means, Cortes ordered him to remove with his division from Iztapalapa to Tepeaquilla or Tepejacac, where the church of our Lady of Guadalupe now stands, in which many wonderful miracles have been performed.

As it was impossible for our troops to advance on the causeways, unless their flanks were secured from attacks by water, the flotilla was appointed to this service in three divisions, one of which was attached to each of the three detachments of our land force: Four brigantines being allotted to Alvarado, six to De Oli, and two to Sandoval [6]; twelve in all, the thirteenth having been found too small for service, and was therefore laid up, and her crew distributed to the rest, as twenty men had been already severely wounded in the several vessels. Alvarado now led our division to attack the causeway of Tacuba, placing two brigantines on each flank for our protection. We drove the enemy before us from several of their bridges and barricades; but after fighting the whole day, we were obliged to retreat to our quarters at night, almost all of us wounded by the incessant showers of stones and arrows of the enemy. We were continually assailed on the causeway, by fresh troops of warriors, carrying different banners or devices; and our brigantines were excessively annoyed from the terraces of the houses which stood in the water; and as we could not leave a party to keep possession of what we had acquired during the day, the enemy repossessed themselves of the bridges at night, and repaired and strengthened their parapets and other defences. In some places they deepened

5 Perhaps along the mound or causeway of Mexicaltzinco; by which he approached towards the great causeway of Xoloc, and the position of De Oli at Cojohuacan.—E.

6 Though not mentioned by Diaz, this necessarily implies that one of the bridges of each causeway must have been taken possession of by the Spaniards, to allow the brigantines to get through into those parts of the lake which were intersected by the causeways.—E.

deepened the water, digging pits in the shallow places, and placing the canoes in ambush, which they secured against the approach of our brigantines by means of pallisades under water. Every day we were employed in the same manner, driving the enemy before us, and every night we returned to our quarters to bind up our wounds. The cavalry were of no service, on account of the barricades defended by long lances; and the soldiers even did not choose to risk their horses, as their price at this time was from eight hundred to a thousand crowns. One Juan, a soldier from Catalonia, used to heal our wounds by charms and prayers, which by the mercy of God recovered us very fast; and this being observed by our allies, all their wounded men applied to Juan, who had more business on his hands than he was able for. But whether whole or wounded, we were obliged to go out daily against the enemy, as otherwise our companies would have been reduced to less than half their strength. Our ensign was disabled almost every day, as he could not at the same time carry his colours and defend himself from the enemy. We were abundantly supplied with corn, but were much in want of refreshments for the wounded men; our chief resource being *tunas* or Indian figs, cherries while in season, and a plant called *quilities* by the natives. The situation of the other two attacks was precisely similar to ours. Every day, when we marched to the attack, a signal was made from the great temple of Tlaltelolco, the great division of Mexico nearest Tacuba, on which the enemy rushed out against us, and were continually relieved by fresh troops, marching out in succession. Finding that we gained nothing by these daily attacks, we changed our plan of operations. On our causeway there was a small open space, on which stood some buildings for religious worship, where we formed a lodgment, and established a post, leaving our cavalry and allies to secure our rear in Tacuba, whence we were supplied with provisions. Though very badly lodged in this place, as every shower of rain came in upon us, we maintained this post and advanced a little towards the city every day, filling up the trenches which intersected the causeway, and pulling down the houses on each side, and using their materials to strengthen our defences. We found it extremely difficult to set the houses on fire, nor could the flames communicate from house to house, as all the houses were separated by canals and ditches. During this operation we were subjected to great danger, as the enemy

destroyed

destroyed us from their terraces when we endeavoured to swim over from the causeway to these detached houses.

In this manner we gained some ground every day, which we secured by parapets and other defences, and preserved during the night. Every evening at sunset, the company which was first for duty, was entrusted with the advanced post, to which they sent forty men; the second company sent an equal number at midnight, and the relieved guard did not quit their post, but had to remain sleeping on the ground; the third company did the same the same two hours before day-break, and the second now lay down to sleep, so that we now had 120 men on guard. Sometimes our whole detachment had to remain under arms the whole night, especially on the following occasion: We learnt from some of our prisoners, that the Mexicans intended to force our post by a great effort, which would have frustrated the other two attacks. For this purpose, all the warriors of nine towns around the lake, including those of Tacuba, Izcapuzalco, and Tenajocan, were by a joint attack upon our rear to carry off our baggage and destroy our bakery in Tacuba, while the Mexicans were to assail us in front on the causeway. We immediately communicated this intelligence to our cavalry and allies at head-quarters, warning them to keep on the alert. In pursuance of this plan, we were attacked both in front and rear for several successive nights, from midnight to day-break. Sometimes the enemy came on with a prodigious noise of shouting and military instruments, and at other times stole upon us in profound silence; but their night attacks were never made with so much resolution as those during the day. Yet we were harassed to death with continual watching, fatigue, and wounds, and constantly exposed to cold winds and almost incessant rain. Our post was reduced to a mere plash of mud and water, and our only food was maize and miserable herbs. When we complained, the only comfort given us by our officers, was that such is the fortune of war. Yet all our efforts, fatigues, and privations, were of little avail; as the parapets we destroyed and the ditches we filled up during the day, were uniformly replaced next night by the enemy.

The destruction of the aqueduct of Chapoltepec, from which so much had been expected, by cutting off the water which supplied the city of Mexico, was unavailing, neither could we starve them into a surrender, as they were regularly supplied with every thing they wanted by means of their

canoes from the towns around the lake. In order to prevent this, two of our brigantines were ordered to cruize every night on the lake, to intercept these supplies. This measure answered the purpose in some degree, but not effectually, as some of the canoes escaped into the city every night. At this time the Mexicans laid a plan to surprise our two cruizing brigantines. Having concealed thirty of their largest piraguas among some tall reeds on the borders of the lake, they sent several canoes, as if carrying provisions, to decoy our vessels into the snare, and even fixed a number of large wooden piles under water at the place to which our vessels were to be inveigled. On the appearance of the decoy-canoes, our two vessels made immediately towards them, the canoes rowing away towards the ambush followed by our brigantines. As soon as they arrived at the place, the thirty piraguas immediately surrounded them, and wounded every officer, soldier, and mariner on board, by their first flight of arrows. Our vessels could not move on account of the piles, and the enemy continued the assault with the utmost vigour. One of the captains, named Portilla, was slain, and Captain Pedro Barba, the commander of our crossbows, died of his wounds. This ambush completely succeeded, as the two brigantines fell into the hands of the enemy. They belonged to the principal division of our flotilla, which was commanded by Cortes in person, who was much exasperated by the loss; but he soon repayed the enemy in their own way. He constantly sent out some vessels every night to scour the lake, and on one occasion they brought in some prisoners of consequence, from whom he learnt that the enemy had formed another ambuscade of forty large piraguas and as many canoes. He now laid a plan to turn their schemes against themselves; for which purpose he sent six vessels one night with muffled oars, to conceal themselves in a water-cut at the edge of the lake, covered with bushes and tall reeds, about a quarter of a league from the ambushment of the enemy. A single brigantine was then sent out early in the morning, as if in search of the canoes which carried provisions to Mexico, and having the prisoners on board to point out the place where the enemies fleet lay concealed. The enemy sent as before some loaded canoes to decoy the brigantine towards the ambush, and our vessel pursued them until near the place, where it lay-to, as if fearful to approach. The Mexican fleet now sallied out upon them, and our brigantine rowed

ed away towards the place where the six others were concealed, closely followed up by the enemy. When arrived near enough, the brigantine fired two shots as a signal, on which the other vessels pushed out against the enemy, running down many of their vessels, dispersing all the rest, and making a great number of prisoners. This sickened them at ambushments, and from henceforwards they did not attempt to cross the lake in their canoes so openly.

Our three divisions of the land army continued to pursue their plan for gradually advancing along the causeways. Always as we gained ground, we pulled down the houses on each side, filling up the ditches or canals which intersected the causeways, and strengthening our posts; in which, and in all the operations of the war, we were excellently seconded by our brave Tlascalan allies. On our attack, the Mexicans broke down one of the bridges in the rear of their own barricades and parrapets, leaving one narrow passage at a place where the water was very deep as a decoy, and even dug trenches and pitfalls where the water was more shallow, placing pallisades in the deep water to prevent the approach of our vessels, and constructing parapets on both sides of the breach. They had also a number of canoes in readiness to sally out upon us on a concerted signal. When all these preparations were in readiness, they made a combined attack upon us in three several directions. One body advanced towards our rear from the side of Tacuba, a second directly on our front along the causeway from the city, and the third by the ruins of the houses which we had destroyed. We repulsed the enemy on all sides; and one party of us, having forced them from the works at the broken bridge, crossed the water up to our necks at the place they had left open for us, and rashly pushed on to an open place where there were some large temples and towers. We were here assailed on all sides by fresh troops from the houses and terraces, and those whom we pursued faced about and fought us in front. We now found it necessary to retreat, which we did with the utmost order till we came to the pass at the broken bridge, which was occupied by the enemy in canoes; and as the others pressed upon our rear, we were forced to throw ourselves into the lake and to get over any way we could. Those who could not swim got entangled among the concealed ditches and pits in the shallow water, where the enemy closed in upon us, wounding the whole party, and even taking five of

of our soldiers alive. The vessels which came to our relief were unable to approach, on account of the pallisades, and they lost two of their soldiers on this occasion. It was wonderful we were not all destroyed at this dangerous pass. At one time I was laid hold of by a number of the enemy; but God gave me strength to disengage my arm, and with the assistance of my good sword, I extricated myself from their grasp. Though wounded, I escaped to the dry ground, where I fainted and remained for some time insensible, owing to my great exertions and the loss of blood. When the enemy had me in their clutches, I recommended myself to the aid of God and his blessed Mother, and they heard my prayer: Glory be to them for all their mercies! From the time that we had cleared the flanks of our post by the destruction of the houses, Alvarado had brought a part of his cavalry thither; and one of them, who had crossed along with us at the broken bridge, lost both his horse and his own life. Fortunately all the rest were then with Alvarado in Tacuba; for if they had been with us they must have all been destroyed from the tops of the houses and temples, as the action took place almost within the city of Mexico. The enemy was much elated by the success of this day, and continued to assail our posts day and night. Cortes was much displeased at the defeat we had sustained, which he attributed to our having neglected his orders; which were always to fill up the cuts in the causeway as we advanced, by means of timber and rubbish.

In the space of four days, counting from our late defeat, we filled up the great aperture at the broken bridge, and established our advanced post at this place, but lost six of our soldiers in the course of this operation. The enemy established a post directly in front of us, which they secured by a ditch and parapet, so as to protect themselves from our shot. They made a large fire in front of their post, by which they were concealed from our view, except when they had occasion to renew the fire, which was sometimes extinguished by the frequent heavy rains which prevailed at this season. They kept profound silence on guard, except when interrupted by loud whistling, which they used as signals. Every morning we marched against the enemy, with whom we fought during the whole day, and retreated to our post towards evening, covered with wounds. Before retreating, we sent back our allies, whose numbers embarrassed us in the narrow causeway,

way, and then fell back step by step, flanked by our armed brigantines, and firing on the enemy as they pressed upon us during the retreat.

About this time, the inhabitants of the cities on the lake grew weary of the long protracted warfare, and sent deputations to our general, offering to submit themselves to his authority, and declaring that they had been constrained by the Mexicans to persist hitherto in their hostilities against us. Cortes received them very graciously, and assured them of his protection, providing that they should conduct themselves properly for the future, and give him their assistance by supplying canoes and provisions to our army, and in the construction of barracks for the troops. They readily promised all this, but performed very badly. Cortes had huts built for his detachment [7]; but the rest of us remained exposed to the weather, which was exceedingly severe and distressing, as it rained almost incessantly during June, July, and August.

Our detachment on the causeway of Tacuba continued our approach towards Mexico, filling up every ditch and canal as we advanced by means of the materials of the houses which we destroyed; and we every day gained possession of temples or houses, which stood apart from each other, and of the bridges by which they communicated. To avoid jealousy, our three companies took the duties of working and fighting alternately, our allies giving most important assistance in pulling down the houses and filling up the ditches and cross-cuts of the causeway. Every evening the whole of our men stood to their arms, and we sent off our allies before us, before retreating to our post for the night. During all this time, Sandoval, who carried on his approach from Tepejacac, was obliged to sustain continual attacks from the enemy; as likewise was Cortes, who now commanded at the third attack. On his side there was an out-post of the Mexicans, at a place where one of the apertures in the causeway was too deep to be forded, and which had been strongly fortified by the enemy. He made a successful attack on this place, where he commanded in person, although the enemy made a brave resistance both by land and water; but he was obliged to retire

7 Though not especially mentioned by Diaz, it appears that Cortes had taken the immediate command of the detachment of De Oli, at Cojohuacan, which formed the southern attack.—E.

tire at night without filling up the ditch, and he lost four Spaniards killed, and had above thirty wounded, the pass being commanded from the terraces of several houses in the water, and his brigantines were unable to get forward to protect his flanks, owing to the piles which the enemy had fixed under water. Guatimotzin and his Mexicans defended themselves with amazing bravery and resolution, trusting to wear us out and destroy us by continual assaults. On the 21st of June, the anniversary of the day of our first entry into Mexico, the enemy assailed us at every point of all our three attacks, both by land and water, in front, flanks, and rear, about two hours before day. The number fit for duty at our post on the causeway of Tacuba was 120 men, and all the allies attached to our detachment, were as usual off the causeway during the night. It was with the utmost difficulty that we were able to resist and repulse the enemy, of whom a great number were killed and wounded, losing two of our own soldiers. The enemy repeated their assaults on all the posts for two other nights successively; and on the third morning, just at day-break, they concentrated their whole force and made a desperate attack on our post. If our allies had been with us we should have been all lost. On this occasion our cavalry saved our rear, and our brigantines did signal service by clearing our flanks. After a most severe and long doubtful contest, we beat off the enemy and made four of their chiefs prisoners, eight of our soldiers being slain in this tough affair. I fear my readers may be tired of this constant repetition of battles, which my duty of historian compells me to relate: But if I were to give an account of every action which took place during the ninety-three days in which we were engaged in the siege of this great, strong, and populous city, every day and night of which time brought a perpetual succession of battles and assaults, my work would be without end, and would more resemble Amadis de Gaul and other romances of chivalry than a true history, which it really is.

Cortes became impatient of delay, and proposed in a council of war to make a general assault on the city, marching at once by all the three causeways, and uniting our whole force in the great square, whence we could command all the streets leading to that centre of Mexico. Some of the members of the council objected greatly to this plan, giving the preference to our present system of advancing gradually, filling up the ditches as we proceeded, and destroying the houses to

make roads and defences of their materials. They alleged that if we were to succeed in forcing our way into the great square, we should in our turn be besieged in the heart of the city, exactly as we had been before our flight from Mexico, and be involved in much greater difficulties than now; as the enemy would be enabled to environ us with their whole force by land and water, and would cut off all possibility of our retreat, by cutting through the causeways. But Cortes, after hearing all these well founded reasons, still adhered to his own plan, and issued orders for the whole army, including the allies, to attack the city next day, and to use our utmost efforts to get possession of the great square. On the next morning therefore, having recommended ourselves to God in the solemn service of the mass, all our three detachments marched to attack the posts of the enemy on their several fronts. In our attack commanded by Alvarado, most of the Spaniards were wounded at the first ditch and parapet of the enemy; one Spaniard was slain, and above a thousand of our allies were killed or wounded. In the attack commanded by Cortes in person, he carried every thing before him at first, and having driven the enemy from a post where the water was very deep and the causeway very narrow, he imprudently pushed on after the enemy followed by the Indian allies. The enemy induced him by frequent halts and feigned resistance to continue the pursuit, having even narrowed the causeway on purpose, and Cortes negligently omitted to fill up the deep ditch which he had passed. When the enemy perceived that our general had fallen into the snare which they had laid for him, they attacked him with fresh troops in front, while numerous canoes filled with warriors issued out at an appointed signal and assailed him both on the flanks and rear, his brigantines being unable to approach for his defence by the pallisades under water. Retreat became now indispensably necessary, which was at first conducted with perfect regularity; but when they came to the narrow part of the causeway, which was all covered with mud and water, the retreat changed to an absolute flight, our people flying from the enemy with their utmost speed, without even attempting to defend themselves. Cortes used every effort to rally his men, but all in vain, and was wounded in the leg at the narrow pass by some of the enemy from the canoes. At this pass, six of our horses were killed, and seventy-two Spaniards were carried off alive. At this moment six Mexican chiefs seized Cortes,

Cortes, but by the will of God, Christoval de Olea, that valiant soldier, and another brave man named Lerma flew to the rescue of our general. De Olea killed four of the chiefs with his own hand, and gallantly lost his life in defence of Cortes, while Lerma narrowly escaped. Other brave soldiers arrived at this moment to his aid, among whom was Quinones the captain of his guards. By these men he was lifted out of the water and hurried off from among a crowd of the enemy. At this critical moment, Guzman his majordomo, brought up a horse on which our wounded general was mounted. The enemy followed up their success with increasing ardour, Cortes and the shattered remains of his troops, retreating to their quarters with the utmost difficulty, pursued to the last by the Mexicans.

After our first attack, in which we defeated the enemy and drove them from their post, we were met by fresh bodies of the enemy, marching in great parade, bearing rich plumes of feathers and ornamented standards. On coming near, they threw down before us five bleeding heads, saying these were the heads of Cortes and his officers, and that we should soon meet the same fate. They then marched up, and fought us hand to hand with the utmost valour, insomuch that we were at length compelled to retreat. As usual, we gave orders to our allies to clear the way, by retreating before us; but the sight of the bloody heads had done this effectually, and not a man of them remained on the causeway to impede our flight. Our cavalry made several charges this day, but our great safety depended upon two guns which raked the whole causeway, and were admirably managed by Pedro Morena, an excellent officer, whose services this day were singularly useful, as the whole causeway was crowded by the enemy. Before we arrived at our quarters, and while pursued by the enemy, we heard the shrill timbals and mournful sound of the great drum from the the summit of the temple of the god of war. The priests were then sacrificing the hearts of ten of our companions to their accursed idols, and the sound of their dismal drum, which might be heard at almost three leagues off, might be imagined to be the music of the infernal deities. Soon after this, the horn of Guatimotzin was heard, giving notice to the Mexican officers either to make prisoners of their enemies, or to die in the attempt. It is utterly impossible to describe the fury with which they assailed us on hearing this dreadful signal, though the remembrance is still as lively as if now

passing

passing before me: I can only say, that it was the good pleasure of God that we got back in safety to our post; praised be his mercy now and for ever. Amen! We were ignorant of the fate of our other detachments. Sandoval was more than half a league from us, and Cortes still farther. The melancholy sight of the heads of our countrymen, and the loss of one of our brigantines, in which three of our soldiers were slain, filled us with melancholy, and we almost thought that we had reached the last hour of our lives. Our captured vessel was afterwards recovered by Captain Xaramillo. In the action of this day, Captain Caravajal, a most gallant officer, had the honour of being the first who broke through the enemies pallisades with his vessel: He now lives in La Puebla, and has been ever since entirely deaf, having lost his hearing this day by excessive exertion.

Most of the soldiers in the detachment of Cortes were wounded, a good many slain, and a great number taken prisoners, so that on his arrival in his quarters, where he was immediately attacked, his men were little able to defend themselves. To add to their distress, the enemy threw into their post four bleeding heads, saying they were those of Alvarado, Sandoval, and two other officers, in order to impress the soldiers of Cortes with the belief that the two other detachments had been as roughly handled as their own. On beholding this horrid spectacle, Cortes was severely agitated, and his heart sunk within him; yet he kept up appearances, encouraging his men to stand to their arms and defend their post against the enemy. He now sent Tapia with three others on horseback to our quarters, to ascertain our situation. They were attacked on their way by several bodies of the enemy, who had been sent out by Guatimotzin to obstruct our communications; but they forced their way through, and found us engaged with the Mexicans.

On his side, Sandoval went on victoriously till the defeat of Cortes, when the enemy sent a powerful reinforcement against him, by whom he was very vigorously assailed; and in the first assault they killed two of his men and wounded all the rest, Sandoval himself receiving three wounds, one of which was on the head. As they had done at the other posts, they threw down six bleeding heads, pretending they were the heads of Cortes and his principal officers, and threatening Sandoval and his men with a similar fate. Sandoval was not to be intimidated, and encouraged his men to behave

themselves

themselves bravely; yet, seeing no chance of ultimate success, he brought his people back to their quarters, many of them being wounded, but having only two slain. After this, though severely wounded himself, he left the command of his quarters with Captain Luis Marin, and set out on horseback to have an interview with Cortes. Like Tapia, he was frequently attacked by the enemy on the road, yet made his way to Cortes, whom he addressed with condolence and astonishment, asking the occasion of his severe misfortune. Cortes laid the blame on Alderate, for neglecting to fill up up the bad pass where the enemy threw his men into confusion; but the treasurer denied the charge, saying that Cortes had not given any such orders, but hurried on his men after the feigned retreat of the enemy. In fact Cortes was much blamed for his rashness, and for not sending the allies soon enough out of his way. About this time, Cortes was agreeably surprised by the arrival of two of his brigantines, which he had given over for lost. Cortes requested Sandoval to visit our quarters at Tacuba, being unable to go there himself, as he was apprehensive the brunt of the attack might now fall upon our post. Sandoval arrived about the hour of vespers, when he found us occupied in repelling the enemy, some of them having attacked us by the causeway, and others from the ruined houses. I and several other soldiers were at this time up to our middles in the water, engaging the enemy in defence of a brigantine which had run aground, and of which the enemy were endeavouring to gain possession. Just as Sandoval arrived, we got her afloat by a great exertion, after the enemy had slain two of her crew and badly wounded all the rest. The enemy continued their attack with the utmost violence, and Sandoval received a blow on the face with a stone. He called out to us to retreat; and as we did not fall back as fast as he wished, he repeated his orders, asking us if we wished to have all the cavalry destroyed. We then retreated to our post, and though the two guns under Moreno frequently swept the causeway, the execution they made did not prevent the enemy from pursuing us to our works.

We remained for some time at our quarters comparatively at rest, recounting the events which had occurred at our post, and listening to a relation of what had taken place at the two others. On a sudden, we were struck by the horrifying sound of the great drum, accompanied by the timbals, horns,

and

and trumpets of the temple of the god of war: And, shocking to tell! we could distinctly see our unfortunate companions who had been made prisoners, driven by blows to the summit of the diabolical temple. On their arrival at the platform, we could see the miserable victims decorated for sacrifice, with plumes of feathers on their heads, and fans in their hands, when they were forced to dance to the infernal music before the accursed idols. After this, we saw them stretched on their backs on the stone of sacrifice, where their hearts were cut out alive, and presented yet palpitating to the damnable gods of the enemy, and their bodies drawn by the feet down the steps. "O merciful God of Heaven," said we among ourselves, "suffer not that we too may be sacrificed by these wretches!" My readers may conceive how poignant were our reflexions at this horrible scene, more especially as we were utterly unable to afford the smallest aid to our poor friends, whom we saw thus butchered before our eyes. At this moment the enemy assailed our post in great force; but we maintained it with determined resolution, and drove them back with much loss. During this assault, they reviled us, saying that their gods had promised to deliver the whole of us into their hands, and they threw over some of the mangled remains of the horrible repast they had made on our countrymen, sending round other portions among the neighbouring towns, as a bloody memorial of their victory over us. Sandoval and Tapia, on their return to Cortes, reported the valiant manner in which we defended our post; and Sandoval mentioned me in particular with approbation, saying many handsome things of me, which it would be improper for me to repeat, though the facts were perfectly well known to all the army.

Our new allies on the lake had suffered considerably from the resentment of the enemy, who had taken from them above half their canoes: Yet some continued firm in their alliance with us, out of hatred to the Mexicans; and others satisfied themselves with looking on, without attempting to molest us. In consequence of our recent losses, having lost near eighty men, killed and prisoners, and seven horses, and almost all the rest of us being wounded, Cortes issued orders to cease from our attacks for four days. But the enemy continued their attacks daily, and even gained ground, making new ramparts and ditches. We had a deep ditch and

very

very defensible ramparts in front of our post; and during this cessation from offensive operations, the whole of our infantry kept guard on the causeway every night, flanked by our brigantines, one half of our cavalry patroling in Tacuba, and the other half on the causeway to protect our rear. Every morning we prepared ourselves to resist the attacks of the enemy, who continued every day to sacrifice some of our miserable companions. During their daily and incessant attacks, they reviled us, saying, that their gods had promised to permit them to destroy us all within eight days; yet that our flesh was too bitter to be eaten: And truly I believe that this was miraculously the case. The threats of the Mexicans, and their declaration that their gods had promised to deliver us into their hands in eight days, had such an effect upon our allies, combined with the bad appearance of our affairs, that they almost entirely deserted from us about this time. The only one who remained with Cortes, was Suchel, otherwise called Don Carlos, brother to our ally the prince of Tezcuco, with about forty followers. The chief of Huexotzinco remained in the camp of Sandoval with about fifty of his warriors; and the brave Chichimecatl, with the two sons of Don Lorenzo de Vargas of Tlascala, and about eighty Tlascalans, continued with us in the quarters of Alvarado. When they were asked the reason of the desertion of their countrymen, they said, that the Mexican gods had predicted our destruction, and the younger Xicotencatl had foretold from the first we should all be put to death; they saw that many of us were killed and all wounded, and they had already had above twelve hundred of their own number slain: And, considering us all devoted to inevitable ruin, they had fled to avoid sharing our fate. Though Cortes secretly thought there was too much reason in what they alleged, he yet assumed a cheerful appearance of perfect security as to the ultimate result of the enterprize, and used his utmost endeavours to reassure our remaining friends, turning the hopes and predictions of the Mexicans and the promises of their false gods into ridicule, and had the good fortune to persuade our few remaining friends to abide with us. The Indian Don Carlos, or Suchel of Tezcuco, who was a brave warrior and a wise man, strongly represented to our general that he had hitherto acted on a most erroneous plan, especially considering the relative situations of us and the enemy. "If you cut off their means of procuring

water,

water and provisions," he observed, "how is it possible that the many *xiquipils* [8] of warriors can subsist? Their provisions must be at last expended: The water of their wells is salt and unwholesome, and their only resource is from the present rainy season. Combat them, therefore, by means of hunger and thirst, and do not throw away your own force by unnecessary violence." Cortes embraced Suchel, thanking him for his salutary advice; which indeed had already more than once occurred to ourselves, but we were too impatient to act with so much prudence. Our general began therefore to act upon this new system, so judiciously recommended by our friend of Tezcuco, and sent orders to all the detachments to confine themselves entirely to the defensive for the next three days. As the canoes of the enemy were numerous, our brigantines never ventured singly on the lake; and as they had now found out the way to break through the pallisades of the enemy, by using both sails and oars when favoured by the wind, we became absolute masters of the lake, and were able to command all the insulated houses at any distance from the city; and as the brigantines could now break through the pallisades of the enemy, they could always secure our flanks, while we were engaged in filling up the ditches in our front, which we did effectually in a very few days, Cortes even assisting in person to carry beams and earth for that purpose.

Every night of this period during which we remained on the defensive, the enemy continued their infernal ceremonies, sacrificing some of our unfortunate companions, which we could distinctly see as their temple was brightly illuminated; the accursed drum continually stunned our ears, and the shrieks and yells of the multitudes who surrounded the temple were at times perfectly diabolical. Christoval de Guzman was the last executed, who remained eighteen days in their hands. We learned every minute circumstance respecting these horrible sacrifices from our prisoners, who told us, that after each successive sacrifice, their war god renewed his promise of delivering us all into their power. Sometimes, even during this period, the enemy employed some of our own crossbows against us, obliging our unfortunate companions who were in their custody to shoot them

off;

8 On some former occasions the xiquipil has been already explained as denoting eight thousand men.—E.

off; but our post was protected by the excellent management of the two guns by Morena, and we every day advanced, gaining possession of a bridge or a parapet. Our brigantines also were of infinite service, as they were continually intercepting the canoes which carried water and provisions to the enemy, and those which were employed in procuring a certain nutritive substance from the bottom of the lake, which, when dry, resembles cheese. Twelve or thirteen days had now elapsed after the time when the Mexican priests had predicted we had only eight days to live. Our allies, therefore, recovered their courage when they saw the fallacy of the prediction, and at the requisition of our steady friend Suchel, two thousand warriors of Tezcuco returned to our quarters, with whom came Pedro Farfan and Antonio Villareal, who had been left by Cortes at that city. About the same time, many bodies of warriors returned to us from Tlascala and other places in our alliance. After their return, Cortes called the chiefs together, to whom he made a speech; partly reprimanding them for having abandoned us, and partly encouraging their future fidelity by confident hopes of victory, and promises of reward, and concluded by earnestly admonishing them not to put any of their Mexican prisoners to death, as he wished to negociate peace with Guatimotzin.

Though the heavy rains which fell at this season were both incommodious and distressing to us, they operated in our favour, as the enemy always relaxed their efforts against us during their continuance. By slow but steady perseverance, we had now considerably advanced into the city at all the three attacks, and had even reached the wells of brackish water which the enemy had dug, and which we now destroyed. Our cavalry could now act freely through the whole space which we had gained, as we had carefully levelled the causeway behind us, destroying all the houses on each side from which we could be annoyed, and carefully fortified our several fronts. Cortes deemed the present conjuncture favourable for offering peace to the Mexicans, and proposed to three of our principal prisoners to carry a message to Guatimotzin to that effect; but they declined the commission, alleging that he would put them to death. They were at length prevailed upon to comply, and were instructed to represent to Guatimotzin in the name of Cortes: "That from respect to the family of the great Montezuma, and that he might

might prevent the destruction of the capital and the loss of so many lives, he was willing to enter into a treaty of peace and amity; desiring Guatimotzin to reflect that he and his people were now cut off from all supplies of water and provisions; and that all the nations who had formerly been the vassals of Mexico, were now in alliance with the Spaniards." A great deal more was added, to the same effect, all of which was perfectly understood by the messengers. Before they went into the city, they required a letter from Cortes, to serve them as a token of credence; with which they waited on their sovereign, weeping and lamenting themselves bitterly, as they knew the danger to which they were exposed. At first, Guatimotzin and his principal chiefs were filled with rage and indignation at the proposal; but he at last consented to call a council of all the princes, chiefs, and principal priests of the city, before whom he laid the message of Cortes, and even expressed his own inclination to come into terms of peace, considering the inefficacy of their resistance, the desertion of their allies, and the miseries to which the people were reduced. The priests obstinately opposed every idea of peace. They represented the hostile conduct of the Spaniards to their nation ever since they first came into the country; their profanation of the temples and idols of their gods; their injurious treatment of the great Montezuma, and of all the other princes who had fallen under their power; the death of the two sons of Montezuma, the seizure of the royal treasures, and the destruction of the city. They reminded Guatimotzin of his own martial fame, which would be sullied and disgraced by submission; insisting that all the offers of Cortes were only insidiously meant to enslave and circumvent; and concluded by repeating the assurances of victory which they had received from their gods. Guatimotzin yielded to these arguments, and declared his resolution to fight to the last: He gave orders, therefore, to husband their provisions with the utmost frugality, to use their utmost endeavours to procure supplies under night, and to sink new wells in various parts of the city. Our army had remained two days quietly in their posts, waiting an answer to our pacific message. On the third, we were furiously assailed on all points by large bodies of the enemy, who rushed upon us like lions, closing up as if utterly regardless of their lives, and using their utmost efforts to make us prisoners; all the while, the horn of Guatimotzin being continually

nually sounded, to inspire them with fury. For seven days we were thus continually assailed: After watching all night, we had to go into action every morning at day-break; and having fought the whole day, we retired in the evening to a miserable regale of maize cakes, with *tunas* or Indian figs, herbs, and *agi* or pepper. Our recent pacific offer was employed as a subject of contempt, for which they reproached us as cowards; saying that peace belonged only to women, arms and war to brave men.

It has been already mentioned, that the horrible fragments of our wretched companions had been sent round the provinces of the Mexican empire, to encourage them to rise in support of the sovereign and his capital. In consequence of this, a great force assembled from Matlatzinco, Malinalco, and other places about eight leagues from Mexico, which was intended for an attack on our rear, while the Mexicans should attack us in front. On the assemblage of this force, they committed horrible ravages on the country in our rear, seizing numbers of children in order to sacrifice them to their idols. To disperse this hostile assemblage, Andres de Tapia was detached with twenty cavalry and an hundred infantry, and effectually executed his commission, driving the enemy back to their own country with great loss. Soon after his return, Cortes sent Sandoval with a detachment to the assistance of the country around Quauhnahuac, or Cuernabaca. Much might be said of this expedition, were I to enter into a detail: but it may suffice, that it was more like a peaceable triumph than a warlike expedition, yet proved of most excellent service to us, as Sandoval returned accompanied by two chiefs of the nation against which he was sent [9]. Cortes, after these successes, sent a second message to Guatimotzin, reminding him of the distresses to which his people were reduced, and expressing great anxiety to save the city of Mexico from destruction, which could only be

9 Clavigero, II. 180, supplies the brevity used by Diaz on this occasion. He says that the chiefs of the districts of Matlatzinco, Malinalco, and Cohuixco came to Cortes and entered into a confederacy with him against Mexico; by which means, added to his former alliances, he was now able to have employed "more warriors against Mexico than Xerxes did against Greece." Clavigero everywhere deals in monstrous exaggeration, while Diaz is uniformly modest, and within due bounds of credibility. Even in the few *miracles* of which Diaz makes mention, his credulity is modestly guarded by devout fear of the holy office.—E.

be done by immediate submission; and to convince him that all hopes of assistance from his former allies were now at an end, he sent this message by the two chiefs who had accompanied Sandoval. Guatimotzin refused any answer, but sent back the chiefs unhurt. The enemy continued their daily assaults upon the advanced works of our several attacks, increasing even in their fury if possible, and exultingly exclaiming, *Tenitotz re de Castilla! Tenitotz axaca!* "What says the king of Castile? What does he now?"

We still continued to advance towards the centre of Mexico, regularly destroying the houses on both sides of us, and carefully fortifying our advanced post; and we now perceived a considerable relaxation in the efforts of the enemy, who were not so eager as formerly to open up the ditches; yet they continued to attack us with the utmost fury, as if courting death. But we too had now serious cause of alarm, as our gun-powder was almost entirely expended. At this critical moment, and most fortunately for us, a vessel arrived at Villa Rica with soldiers and ordnance stores, all of which, together with the men, were immediately sent to Cortes by Rangel, who commanded at Villa Rica. This vessel belonged to an armament which had been fitted out by Lucas Vasquez de Aillon, and which had been destroyed or dispersed near Florida. On the arrival of this reinforcement, Cortes and all the army determined to make a grand push for the great square in that part of the city called Tlaltelolco, as it would become an excellent place of arms, on account of some principal temples and other strong buildings which were there situated. For this purpose, each of our divisions continued their daily efforts to advance in our usual cautious manner. Cortes got possession of a small square in which were some temples, on the beams of which many of the heads of our sacrificed companions were placed, their hair and beards being much grown. I could not have believed this, if I had not myself seen them three days afterwards, when our party had worked their way to the same place, after having filled up three canals. In twelve days afterwards, they were all reverently buried by us in that place where the Church of the Martyrs is now built.

Our detachment under Alvarado continued to advance, and at last forced the enemy from the barricades they had thrown up to defend the great square, which cost us two hours hard fighting. Our cavalry was now of most essential service

service in the large space which was now laid open, and drove the enemy before them into the temple of the god of war, which stood in the middle of the great square. Alvarado determined to gain possession of the temple; for which purpose he divided his forces into three bodies, one of which, commanded by Guttierrez de Badajoz, he ordered to gain possession of the temple, while with the other two he occupied the attention of the enemy below. A large force of the enemy, headed by the priests, occupied the platform of the temple, with all its idol sanctuaries and galleries, and repulsed the troops of Guttierrez, driving them down the steps. The body to which I belonged was now ordered by Alvarado to their support. We advanced boldly to the assault, and having ascended to the platform, we drove the enemy from the post, of which we took possession, setting fire to their abominable idols, and planting our standard in triumph on the summit of the temple. The view of this signal of victory greatly rejoiced Cortes, who would fain have joined us; but he was still a quarter of a league from the place, and had many ditches to fill as he advanced. In four days more, both he and Sandoval had worked their way up to the great square of Tlaltelolco, where they joined us, and thus communications from all our three attacks were opened up to the centre of Mexico.

Our attack on the temple was truly perilous, considering the number of the enemy, the height and difficulty of the ascent, and the fury with which they continued to fight against us, even after we had attained the platform and set their idols on fire, and it was night before we could compel them to abandon the summit. The royal palaces were now levelled with the ground, and Guatimotzin had retired with his troops to a more distant quarter of the city towards the lake [10]. Still, however, the enemy attacked us every day, and at night pursued us into our quarters; and though apparently reduced to the last extremity, they made no offer towards peace. Cortes now laid a plan for drawing the enemy into an ambush: For this purpose, he one night placed 30 of our cavalry, with 100 of our best foot soldiers, and

1000

10 The whole western division of Mexico called Tlaltelolco was now in possession of the Spaniards, and probably destroyed by them to secure their communications; and the miserable remnant of the brave Mexicans had retired into the eastern division, named Tenochtitlan.—E.

1000 Tlascalans, in some large houses which had belonged to a principal nobleman of Mexico. Next morning he went in person with the rest of our army to attack a post at a bridge, which was defended by a large force of the Mexicans. After continuing the assault for some time, Cortes slowly retreated with his men, drawing the enemy after him by the buildings in which the ambush lay concealed. When he had led them to a sufficient distance, he gave the concerted signal, by firing two guns in quick succession. We immediately sallied out, and having thus enclosed the enemy between us, we made a terrible havoc among them, and from that time they never ventured to annoy us on our nightly retreat. Another trap was laid for the enemy by Alvarado, which had not the same success; but as I was now doing duty with the division which Cortes commanded in person, I was not present, and cannot, therefore recount the particulars. Hitherto we had continued to retreat every night to the posts we had established on the causeways, which were at least half a league from the great temple; but we now quitted these posts, and formed a lodgment for the whole army in the great square of Tlaltelolco, where we remained for three days without doing any thing worth notice, as Cortes wished to abstain from destroying any more of the city, in hopes of prevailing on Guatimotzin to accept of peace. He sent, therefore, a message, requesting him to surrender, giving him the strongest assurances that he should continue to enjoy the sovereignty, and should be treated with every honourable distinction; and he accompanied this message with a considerable present of provisions, such as fowls, game, bread, and fruit. Guatimotzin pretended to be inclined towards a pacification, and even sent four of his principal nobles to propose an interview between him and our general. But this was a mere stratagem to gain time for strengthening his fortifications, and making preparations to attack us; as from the example of what had befallen his uncle Montezuma, and the suggestions of his advisers, he was afraid to trust himself in our hands. The mask was soon thrown off, and the enemy attacked us with such extreme violence, and having taken us in some measure by surprise, that they had some success at first, killing one of our soldiers and two horses; but in the end we drove them back with considerable loss.

Cortes

Cortes now ordered us to proceed on our former system, of advancing daily against that part of the city which was occupied by Guatimotzin, filling up the ditches and destroying the houses as we proceeded; and we accordingly gained ground as formerly. Guatimotzin, on seeing this, made another offer of an interview with our general, proposing the conference might take place across a large canal. To this Cortes readily assented, and went accordingly to the appointed place, but Guatimotzin never appeared; instead of which he sent some of his principal nobles, who said the king was apprehensive of being shot during the conference. Cortes engaged by the most solemn oaths that no injury should be offered, but all to no purpose. At this time two of these nobles played a most ridiculous farce: They took out from a sack a fowl, some bread, and a quantity of cherries, which they began to eat deliberately, as if to impress us with the belief that they had abundance of provisions. When Cortes found that the proposed conference was only a pretext to gain time, he sent a message of defiance to Guatimotzin and retired. For four days after this, we were not attacked by the enemy; but numbers of famished Mexicans used to surround our quarters every night. Cortes pitied their wretched situation, and ordered us to refrain from hostilities, always hoping that the enemy would offer terms of accommodation. One of our soldiers, named Sotela, who had served in Italy, was always boasting of the great battles he had seen, and of the wonderful military engines which he was able to construct, and particularly that he could make a machine for throwing stones, by which he would destroy the whole of that part of the city which Guatimotzin occupied, in a very few days. Cortes was at last induced to listen to him, and all kinds of materials were brought for him to construct his engine. Stone and lime was procured; the carpenters were set to work to prepare timber; two strong cables were made; and a number of large stones were brought, which the machine was to project. When all was ready, a stone was placed in the engine, and it was played off against the quarters of Guatimotzin. But instead of taking that direction, the stone flew up vertically into the air, and returned exactly to the place whence it was launched. Cortes was angry and ashamed at the result, and ordered the machine to be destroyed, reproaching the soldier for his ignorant presumption.

Sandoval

Sandoval was now sent with the command of the flotilla, to act against that division of the city in which Guatimotzin still held out. He was ordered to spare the Mexicans as much as possible, but to destroy all the houses and advanced works which the enemy possessed in the lake. On this occasion, Cortes ascended to the high platform of the great temple, attended by many of his officers and soldiers, to observe the movements of the fleet. Guatimotzin, on observing the approach of Sandoval, became very apprehensive of being made prisoner, and determined to attempt making his escape. For this purpose he had already fifty large piraguas in readiness, on board of which he embarked with his family, principal officers and courtiers, and all their most valuable effects, and endeavoured to escape by the lake to the main land; all the piraguas taking different directions, in order to distract the pursuit of the brigantines. At this time Sandoval was occupied in tearing down some houses, that he might clear his way towards the quarters of Guatimotzin, of whose flight he got immediate notice. He set out therefore immediately in pursuit, giving strict orders to all the captains of his brigantines to offer no injury or insult to the royal fugitive; but to keep a watchful eye on that vessel in which Guatimotzin was supposed to have embarked, using every effort to take it, and paying no attention to the rest. In particular, he directed Garcia Holguin, who commanded the swiftest-sailing vessel of the fleet, to make for that part of the shore to which it was supposed Guatimotzin was most likely to go. Holguin accordingly fell in with several piraguas, one of which, from the superior appearance of its structure and awning, he supposed to be that which carried the king. He called out to the people on board to bring to, but without effect, and then ordered his musketeers and cross-bows to present. On seeing this, Guatimotzin called out to them not to shoot, acknowledging who he was, and declared his readiness to submit, requesting to be taken immediately to the general, and entreating that his queen, children, and attendants might not be ill treated. Holguin received him and his queen with the utmost respect, placing them and twenty of the nobles who attended them on the poop of his vessel, setting such refreshments before them as he had in his power, and ordered the piraguas which carried the royal effects to follow untouched. At this time, perceiving that Holguin had made Guatimotzin prisoner, and was carrying

carrying him to Cortes, Sandoval made a signal for all the brigantines to close up with him, and ordered his rowers to exert every effort to bring him up with Holguin. On getting alongside, Sandoval demanded Guatimotzin to be delivered up to him, as commander of the naval force, but Holguin refused, and many high words passed between them. One of the vessels was sent to inform Cortes of the great event which had taken place, and by the same means he learnt the dispute which had occurred between Sandoval and Holguin. He immediately sent the Captains Marin and De Lugo with orders to bring the whole party to his quarters on the summit of the great temple, ordering them to treat Guatimotzin and his queen with the highest respect. In the meantime, he ordered a state canopy to be arranged as well as he could, with cloths and mantles, to receive his prisoners, and a table to be spread with such refreshments as could be procured.

On the approach of the prisoners, Cortes went forward to meet the king, whom he embraced with much respect, and shewed all possible attention to his followers. The unfortunate monarch sinking under his affliction, addressed Cortes as follows, with his eyes full of tears: "*Malinatzin!* I have done every thing in my power to defend my kingdom and people, but all my efforts have been in vain, and I am now your prisoner; I request of you, therefore, to draw your dagger and stab me to the heart." Cortes used his best endeavours to console him, assuring him of his high esteem for the valour and firmness he had exerted, that he should continue to reign as formerly, and that he had only required his submission when all reasonable hope of defence was gone, in order to avoid the utter destruction of his capital and people. Cortes then inquired after the queen, and was told that she and her female attendants remained in the piragua till their fate was decided. He then ordered them to be sent for, and treated them with all respect. As the evening drew on, and it threatened to rain, the whole royal family was sent to Cojohuacan, under the care of Sandoval, and a sufficient escort. Guatimotzin was about twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, of a noble appearance both in person and countenance, having large and cheerful features, with lively eyes, and his complexion was very fair for an Indian.

dian. His queen, who was the niece[11] of Montezuma, was young and very handsome.

The whole army was now ordered to withdraw from the great temple of Tlaltelolco, and to return to their original head-quarters. Cortes proceeded to Cojohuacan, where he took the command in person, sending Sandoval to resume his station at Tepejacac, and our division, under Alvarado, retired to Tacuba. Thus was the important seige of Mexico brought to a successful conclusion, by the capture of Guatimotzin and his family at the hour of vespers, on the day of St Hypolitus, 13th of August 1521. Glorified be our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Holy Virgin Mother, Amen!

In the night after the capture of Guatimotzin, about midnight, there was the greatest tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain I ever witnessed. But all the soldiers were as deaf as if they had been an hour in a belfrey, and all the bells ringing about their ears. This proceeded from the continual noise they had been accustomed to from the enemy during the *ninety-three days*[12] of this memorable siege: Some bringing on their troops to attack us on the causeways, with loud shouts, and shrill whistling; others in canoes assailing our flanks; some at work on the pallisades, water courses, and stone parapets, or preparing their magazines of arms, and the shrieks and yells of the women, who supplied the warriors with stones, darts, and arrows; the infernal noise of their timbals, horns, and trumpets, and the dismal drum, and other shocking noises, perpetually sounding in our ears: All of which immediately ceased on the capture of Guatimotzin. In consequence of the dispute between Sandoval and

11 According to the genealogy of the Mexican kings in Clavigero, I. 240, this princess, whose name was Tecuichpotzin, was queen successively to her uncle Cuitlahuatzin, and her cousin Guatimotzin. After the conquest, she became a Christian, by the name of Donna Elizabeta Montezuma, marrying three noble Spaniards in succession; and from her descended the two noble families of Cano Montezuma, and Andrea Montezuma. Montezuma left likewise a son, Don Pedro Johualicahuatxin Montezuma, whose male descendants failed in a great-grandson; but there are several noble families both in Spain and Mexico descended from that sovereign of Mexico in the female line.—E.

12 We have formerly said, on the authority of Clavigero, that the siege of Mexico commenced on the 30th of May, and as it ended on the 13th of August, the siege, by this mode of reckoning, could only have lasted 76 days. It is highly probable, therefore, that the commencement of the siege must have been on the 13th of May, and the 30th of Clavigero may only be an error of the press.—E.

and Holguin threatening unpleasant consequences, Cortes related to them from the Roman history the dispute between Marius and Sylla, about the capture of Iugurtha, which was ultimately productive of very fatal civil wars. He assured them that the whole affair should be represented to the emperor Don Carlos, by whose arbitration it should be decided. But in two years after, the emperor authorised Cortes to bear in his arms the seven kings whom he had subdued, Montezuma, Guatimotzin, and the princes of Tezcuco, Cojohuacan, Iztapalapa, Tacuba, and Matlatzinco.

It is absolutely truth, to which I swear *amen!* that all the lake, the houses, and the courts were filled with dead bodies, so that I know not how to describe the miserable spectacle. All the streets, squares, courts, and houses of Tlaltelolco, were so covered by them, that we could not take a single step without treading on or between the bodies of dead Indians. The lake and the canals were full of them, and the stench was intolerable. It was for this reason that our troops retired from the city immediately after the capture of Guatimotzin: Cortes was himself ill for some time, owing to the dreadful effluvia arising from the putrifying bodies. I have read the history of the destruction of Jerusalem, but I cannot conceive that the mortality even there exceeded what I was witness to in Mexico; as all the warriors from the most distant provinces of that populous empire were concentrated there, and almost the whole garrison was cut off in their almost perpetual encounters with us, or perished of famine.

Our vessels were now in the best situation for service; as those on board had ready access to the houses in the water, which were beyond our reach, whence they carried away all the best of the plunder. Their crews also discovered a great many valuable articles which the Mexicans had concealed among the tall reeds on the borders of the lake, and they intercepted a great deal that the inhabitants of the city endeavoured to carry away in their canoes; all of which was beyond our reach: Indeed the wealth which our mariners procured at this time was quite incalculable, as Guatimotzin and all his chiefs declared that far the greater part of the public treasure fell into their hands.

Soon after the capture of Guatimotzin, it was ordered on his suggestion, that all the remaining inhabitants of Mexico should remove to the neighbouring towns, in order to have the

the city cleared of the dead bodies, to restore its salubrity. In consequence of this order, all the causeways were full for three days and nights, of weak, sickly, and squalid wretches, men, women, and children, covered with filth, worn out by famine and disease, so that the sight was shocking in the extreme. When all were gone who had been able to get away, we went to examine the situation of the city, which was as I have already described, in a most miserable state. All the streets, courts, and houses were covered with dead bodies, among whom some miserable wretches were crawling about in the different stages of the most offensive diseases, occasioned by famine, the most unnatural food, and the pestilential smell of the corrupting carcases. Even the trees were stripped of their bark, and the ground had been everywhere dug up in search of any kind of roots it might be able to afford. Not a drop of water could be any where procured; and though it was the constant practice of all these nations to feast on the prisoners they took in war, not one instance occurred, in the midst of their extreme distress, of their having preyed on each other: and certainly there never existed in the history of this world any instance of a people who suffered so severely from hunger, thirst, and warfare. I must here observe, that in all our combats, the Mexicans seemed much more anxious to carry our soldiers away alive, that they might be sacrificed to their gods, than to kill them.

After a solemn service of thanks to God for our victory, Cortes determined upon giving a feast in Cojohuacan to celebrate our triumph, as a vessel had arrived at Villa Rica with abundance of hogs, and a cargo of wine. He invited all his officers, and all the soldiers of particular estimation to this entertainment, and we all accordingly waited upon him at the time appointed. When we came to sit down to dinner, there were not tables and covers prepared for more than half of us, so that the company fell into sad confusion. The wine occasioned many to commit follies and other worse things. Some leapt over the tables, who were afterwards unable to get out at the doors, and many rolled down the steps, who could not walk home to their quarters. The private soldiers, in high expectations of immense plunder, declared they would buy horses with gold trappings, and the crossbow-men swore they would henceforth use only golden arrows. When the tables were removed, the soldiers danced

in

in their armour, with the few ladies who were present; but the disproportion was very great, and the scene became truly ludicrous. Father Olmedo became quite scandalized at the conduct of the visitors at the feast, and was so disgusted at what was going on during the dances, that he complained to Sandoval, who reported to Cortes that the good Father was grumbling and scolding out of all measure. Our general, always prudent in his proceedings, came up to Olmedo, affecting to disapprove of the indecent conduct of his guests, and requested of him to order a solemn mass and thanksgiving, and to give the soldiers a sermon on their religious and moral duties. The good father was quite delighted at this proposal; and accordingly the crucifixes and the image of the blessed Virgin were carried in solemn procession, amid our drums and military ensigns; Olmedo chanted the litany and administered the sacrament, and we all gave thanks to God for our victory.

Cortes now dismissed the Tlascalan chiefs and our other allies, who had rendered most important services during our long protracted warfare, making them many compliments and great promises, that he would make them all rich and great lords, with extensive territories and numerous vassals, so that they all departed in high spirits: But they had secured something more substantial than empty promises, as they were all well laden with the plunder of Mexico. Neither were they behind our enemies in their cannibal feasts, of which they had reserved some portions to give to their friends on their return.

Now that I have concluded the narrative of so many furious and bloody engagements, through which the Almighty has been pleased to protect me, I must confess, that the sight of so many of my companions sacrificed alive to the war-god of the Mexicans, inspired me with fear. This may appear to some as an indication of want of courage, yet in that time I considered myself, and was looked upon by all as a valiant soldier, and was never exceeded by any in bold atchievements. But when I saw the palpitating hearts of my companions taken out alive, and their legs and arms cut off to be served up in the barbarous feasts of our cannibal enemies, I feared it might one day be my own lot; and in fact the enemy had me twice in their hands, but by the blessing of God I escaped from their savage grasp. Yet I ever afterwards remembered the dreadful scene which I had witnessed,

and on going to battle was much depressed and uneasy, fearing to be doomed to that cruel death. Yet I always recommended myself to God and his blessed Mother, and the moment I was engaged with the enemy all fear left me. Let those valiant cavaliers who have been in desperate battles and mortal dangers decide on the cause of my fears, for I declare I never knew what fear was till I saw the savage immolation of my seventy-two companions: In my own opinion it was from excessive courage, as I was fully aware of the extent of danger which I was voluntarily about to encounter. I have related many engagements in this history, at which I was not present; for even if my body had been of iron I could not have been present at all, and I was much oftener wounded than whole.

SECTION XIV.

Occurrences in New Spain immediately subsequent to the reduction of Mexico.

As soon as Cortes had leisure to think of objects of internal regulation, he gave orders to have the aqueduct restored by which the city of Mexico was supplied with water, and to have the city cleared of the dead bodies and repaired, so that it might be again habitable within two months. The palaces and houses were ordered to be rebuilt, and a certain portion of the city was allotted for the natives, while another part was reserved for the residence of the Spaniards. Guatimotzin made application to our general, in the name of many of his principal nobles, requesting that all their women of rank who had been taken by our soldiers, might be restored to their husbands and fathers. This was a matter of considerable difficulty; yet the general allowed a search to be made, with an assurance that all should be delivered up who were inclined to return. Every house was accordingly searched; and though many were found, three only of the whole number were inclined to return to their families; all the rest expressed their abhorrence at the idolatry of their countrymen, besides which, many of them declared that they were pregnant, and refused to quit the soldiers to whom they were attached.

One

One of the first public works undertaken in Mexico was an arsenal for the reception of our flotilla which had been of such signal service during the siege. To the best of my remembrance, Alvarado was appointed alcalde, or chief magistrate, till the arrival of Salazar de la Pedrada. It was currently reported that Guatimotzin had thrown great quantities of gold, silver, and jewels, into the lake four days before his capture, and it was well known that our allies had got large plunder as well as our own men who served in the brigantines, and many of us suspected that Cortes was well pleased that Guatimotzin had concealed much treasure, as he expected to procure the whole for himself. It was then proposed in the army, that Guatimotzin and the prince of Tacuba, his most confidential counsellor, should be put to the torture, to extort confession of where the treasure was secreted; this horrid act was certainly greatly against the inclination of Cortes, yet he was forced to leave the unfortunate king and the lord of Tacuba at the disposal of those avaricious wretches, who alleged that our general objected to this infernal measure that he might secure the gold for himself. In answer to all interrogatories on the subject of the treasure, the royal Mexican officers uniformly protested that no more existed than what had been produced; which, when melted, did not exceed the value of 380,000 crowns; so that, when the royal fifth and that for Cortes were deducted, those of the conquerors who were not friends to Cortes were exceedingly dissatisfied. All that could be extorted by the inhuman procedure of torture from the king and prince was, that they had thrown some treasure into the lake, together with the muskets and other arms captured during our flight from Mexico in the preceding year, four days before the surrender. The place indicated was repeatedly searched to no purpose by our best divers; but a sun of solid gold, similar to one we got from Montezuma, with many ornaments of small value, were found in a deep pond near his residence. The prince of Tacuba declared under the torture that he had buried some gold at a place about four leagues from Tacuba; but when Alvarado and six soldiers accompanied him there, of whom I was one, he declared he had no gold, and had only said so in hope of dying on the road. In fact the treasury was reduced very low before the accession of Guatimotzin. I and several other good divers searched that part of the lake which had been indicated by Guatimotzin, but we found only some small pieces

pieces of gold, which were immediately claimed by Cortes and Alederete the treasurer; who likewise sent down other persons in their own presence, but all they got did not reach the value of ninety crowns. We were all miserably disappointed to find our shares so small; insomuch that Olmedo and all the captains proposed to Cortes to divide the whole which belonged to the army among the wounded, the lame, the blind, and the sick, all who were sound renouncing their claims. We were all curious to know what our shares amounted to, and it at length appeared that the share of a horseman was only an hundred crowns. I forget how much belonged to a foot soldier; but it was so small that none of us would accept the paltry sum, more especially the soldiers of Narvaez, who never liked Cortes.

Many of our soldiers had incurred heavy debts. A crossbow cost fifty crowns, a musket a hundred, a horse eight hundred or a thousand, and every thing else in proportion. Our surgeon, master Juan, and Doctor Murcia our apothecary and barber, charged very high, and there were various other sources of debt, all to be satisfied from our miserable dividends. These required to be regulated; and accordingly Cortes appointed two respectable persons, Santa Clara and Lerena, to arbitrate all claims, which were ordered to be cleared off within two years according to their award. The value also of the gold was debased, to serve us in our dealings with the merchants from Spain and Cuba; but it had the opposite effect, as they charged more than double the difference on their goods. On these abuses being known at court, our emperor was pleased to prohibit the farther currency of this base metal, ordering it to be all received in payment of certain duties, and no more of it to be made; and as two goldsmiths were detected for putting off base metal with the legal mark of good, they were hanged for the fraud.

As the best way to rid himself of troublesome demands, Cortes resolved to send off colonies to make settlements at convenient situations. Sandoval was sent for this purpose to occupy Coatzacualco and Tzapotecapan, the south-eastern provinces of the Mexican empire. Juan Velasquez to Colima, and Villa Fuerte to Zacatollan, the most westerly provinces on the south sea. Christoval de Oli to take possession of the kingdom of Michuacan, and Francisca de Orozco to Guaxaca or Oaxaco. The native chiefs of the distant provinces could hardly be brought to believe that Mexico was destroyed,

destroyed, and sent deputations to ascertain the truth of the report, bearing large presents of gold to Cortes, and submitting themselves as vassals to our emperor. Many came in person to Mexico, and even brought their children to see the fallen condition of that great power which they had once held in such awe and terror, expressing themselves in their own language, as who should say, *Here stood Troy.* My readers may be curious to know how we, the conquerors of Mexico, after encountering so many fatigues and dangers to gain possession of that city, should now so readily abandon it in search of new settlements. To this I answer: The books containing the record of the Mexican revenues were examined to find whence Montezuma had obtained the valuable articles of tribute, such as gold, cocoa, and cotton, and we all wished to remove to these productive districts. Some especially were led by the example of Sandoval, who was known to be the particular friend of Cortes, and who would not, as they thought, be sent upon an unprofitable errand. We all knew that the vicinity of Mexico had neither mines, plantations, nor manufactures, being entirely occupied in the cultivation of maize and *maguey*, which did not afford sufficient prospects of advantage, and we anxiously removed therefore to other places, where we were miserably disappointed. I among others, went to Cortes and asked permission to accompany Sandoval to his government: "Brother Diaz," said he, "you had better stay with me: If you are resolved to accompany your friend Sandoval, you may certainly go; but on my conscience you will repent." All the gold got into the hands of the royal officers, as the slaves were purchased by the soldiers at a public sale. The various detachments were sent out at different periods to occupy the provinces, but all within two months after the reduction of Mexico.

At this time, Christoval de Tapia, *veedor* of Hispaniola, arrived at Villa Rica with a commission to assume the government of New Spain, by order of the emperor and under the direction of the bishop of Burgos. He likewise brought letters from the bishop to Cortes and many persons in the army, recommending him to be received with honour as governor, promising great rewards to all who should assist him in assuming the government, with severe threats of punishing all who opposed him: besides these sealed letters, he had many others which he was authorised to address as he saw occasion. Tapia in the first place presented his commission

to

Alvarado, who now commanded at Villa Rica, who received it with the highest respect, saying that it did not belong to him to decide on so important a subject, and it would be proper, therefore, to assemble the alcaldes and regidors of the settlement, that the commission might be verified in their presence, and that it might be certainly known it came regularly from his majesty. This did not exactly suit the views of Tapia, who was advised to proceed to Mexico, and to produce his commission to the general; he therefore forwarded to Cortes the letter of the bishop, and wrote to him on the subject of his mission to New Spain, using smooth and persuasive terms, and Cortes was by no means behind hand in the civility of his reply. Cortes, however, sent off expresses to some of his most confidential officers whom he had previously detached to settle colonies, ordering them to go to meet Tapia, who had already begun his journey to Mexico, and was met with on the road by Alvarado, Sandoval, Valdenegro, Andres de Tapia, and Father Olmedo, all persons in the confidence of Cortes, by whom Christoval de Tapia was persuaded to go back to Chempoalla, and to produce his commission to them. Having examined it and finding it genuine, they placed it on their heads in token of respect and submission to the will of the emperor, yet hesitated as to acknowledging Tapia for governor, alleging that it was necessary in the first place to be assured of his majestys pleasure in the present state of New Spain, which had been concealed from his knowledge by the bishop of Burgos, to serve his own private views and to favour Tapia and Velasquez, one of whom it was alleged was to marry his niece. Tapia saw evidently that it would be no easy matter to enter upon his office of governor, and fell sick with vexation. The before-mentioned deputies informed Cortes by letter of all that had passed, and advised him to try the all-powerful influence of gold on the would-be governor. Cortes complied with this advice, and transmitted a good quantity of golden ingots by return of the express, by means of which his friends gratified the avarice of Tapia, under pretence of purchasing one of his ships, with some horses and negroes; and Tapia set sail in his other vessel for Hispaniola, where he was very ill received by the royal audience and the Jeronymite brotherhood, as he had undertaken this business contrary to their express orders.

I have formerly mentioned some particulars of an unsuc-

 cessful

cessful expedition set on foot by Garray, the governor of Jamaica, for the establishment of a colony on the river of Panuco; and as Cortes was informed that Garray intended to resume that project, he resolved to anticipate him, considering the country on that river as included in New Spain. Having likewise been informed that Narvaez, who still continued a prisoner at Villa Rica, had held some confidential intercourse with Tapia, in which he advised him to quit the country as soon as possible, and to lay a statement of the whole before his patron the bishop of Burgos; Cortes sent orders to Rangel, now commandant at Villa Rica, to send up Narvaez to Cojohuacan, where Cortes resided until the palace he meant to inhabit at Mexico was completed. On appearing before Cortes, Narvaez fell on his knees and endeavoured to kiss his hand; but Cortes raised and embraced him, and treated him with the utmost kindness. His residence in Mexico being ready for his reception, Cortes went to live there in great splendour, marking out a plan for the restoration of the city, in which ample allotments were made for churches, monasteries, and public buildings, with squares and markets, all the rest of the ground being set apart for the private inhabitants; and both so speedily and splendidly was this capital restored, that all who have seen it allow there is not in Christendom a larger, better built, or more populous city. While thus employed, intelligence was brought to Cortes that the province of Panuco was in arms, and had killed many of the soldiers whom he had sent to make a settlement at that place. He resolved, therefore, to proceed to Panuco in person, as all his most confidential officers were now absent on different duties.

By this time our strength had been considerably augmented, both by means of those formerly mentioned who had been on the expedition to Florida under Aillon, and by several who had come over along with Tapia, and by the arrival of many adventurers from the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica. De Oli, likewise, had now returned from Mechoacan, which he had reduced to submission, bringing with him the principal cacique of that country and several other chiefs, with a considerable quantity of gold. Cortes therefore left a respectable garrison in Mexico, under Diego de Soto, and set out on his march for Panuco[1] with 130 cavalry

1 The province here named Panuco, is situated on the coast of the gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of a considerable river which drains the superfluous

cavalry, 250 infantry, and 10,000 Mexican warriors. As this expedition was very expensive, Cortes wished the charge to be defrayed from the royal funds, but the officers of the treasury refused, under the pretext that it had been undertaken from motives of private interest, to prevent Garray from establishing a colony in that place, and not for the public service. The Panuchese, otherwise called the Guastecas and Naguaticas, were numerous and warlike, and had collected a force of above 70,000 warriors, with which they fought two battles against Cortes in the course of a few days, in which three Spaniards, four horses, and above a hundred Mexicans were slain; but we obtained the victory in both actions, with such slaughter of the rebels, as deprived them of all inclination to renew the war for the present. By means of Father Olmedo and some prisoners, the Panuchese were now induced to submit. Cortes in the next place proceeded with half his army across the river Chila, to reduce the natives who had murdered the messengers whom he sent to require their submission. On crossing the river, the enemy fell upon our troops with great fury, but were soon defeated, and our people advanced to a town in which they found abundance of provisions. Some of our soldiers, on going into a temple next morning, found the remains of some of our men, and even recognized their features, a melancholy sight to us all; but we carefully collected and buried their remains. From this place our detachment marched to another, where the enemy concealed some of their troops among houses, intending to fall upon our men when the cavalry had dismounted; but as their plan was discovered it failed of success, yet they fought valiantly for half an hour, even rallying three times, contrary to the usual custom of the Indians, and three of our soldiers were so badly wounded that they afterwards died. On the ensuing day, our soldiers scoured the country, and in some deserted towns they found a number of earthen vessels filled with a species of wine in underground cellars. After having marched for five days through the country in various directions, the detachment returned to the river Chila, and Cortes again summoned the the country to submission. They promised to send a deputation

ous waters of the Mexican vale, named at first Rio del Desague, then Rio de Tula, and Rio Tampico at its mouth, in about lat. 22° 15' N. The Modern town of Panuco is about 200 miles almost due north from Mexico. —E.

tation for that purpose in four days, for which Cortes waited, but to no purpose; he therefore sent a large body of Mexicans, during a dark rainy night, across a lake to attack one of their largest towns, which was entirely destroyed; after which most of the country submitted, and Cortes established a town of 130 houses about a league from the river of Chila, which he named Estevan del Puerto, leaving 63 Spanish soldiers to keep the country under subjection, and giving the command of all the neighbouring country to Pedro Valego. Before leaving this country, Cortes was informed of three districts, which had now submitted, the inhabitants of which had been very active in the murder of the Spaniards at Panuco on the former occasion, and who had entered into a resolution to fall upon the new settlement as soon as he quitted the country. He marched therefore against them, and destroyed their towns, which they re-established soon after his departure. In consequence of the loss of a vessel which Cortes had ordered to bring provisions from Villa Rica, this new settlement was reduced to much distress. The inhabitants of this province of Panuco were the most barbarous of all the tribes in New Spain, being cruel to excess, exceedingly addicted to human sacrifices, drunken, filthy, and wicked beyond belief. They frequently rebelled, and were as often punished in a most exemplary manner; but all would not reduce them under good government: But when Nunez de Guzman became governor of New Spain, he reduced the whole nation to slavery, and sold them among the different Islands of the West Indies.

On his return towards Mexico, Cortes received complaints of various depredations having been committed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains on the peaceable districts of New Spain [2]. He determined therefore to chastise these lawless tribes while on his way; but they anticipated him, by assaulting his rear in a difficult pass of the mountains, where they got possession of a considerable portion of the baggage. But our Mexican allies severely revenged this insult, and made prisoners of two of the principal hostile chiefs who were both hanged. After this victory, Cortes suspended hostilities, and having summoned the people to appear before him, they came in and submitted, on which Cortes appointed

2 These were probably the Chichimecas and Otomies, who inhabited to the north-west of the Mexican empire.—E.

pointed the brother of the cacique who had been put to death to the vacant government. About this time Alonza de Avila, who was formerly mentioned, returned with full powers from the royal audience and the Jeronymite brotherhood, to continue our conquests, to make settlements of land and colonies according to the established rules in Hispaniola and Cuba, and to brand slaves: And he brought notice that these tribunals had transmitted a report of the steps they had now taken to the government in Spain, whence it was transmitted to the emperor, then in Flanders. If Avila had been in New Spain at the arrival of Tapia, he might have proved troublesome, as he was entirely devoted to the Bishop of Burgos, having been bred up in his house. On this account, and by the advice of Olmedo, Cortes gave him the command of the district of Guatitlan, one of the most profitable in New Spain, and also made him a considerable present of gold, and many flattering words and promises by which he gained him over entirely to his interest, insomuch that he sent him soon afterwards into Spain as his agent, carrying a large quantity of gold, pearls, and jewels to the emperor, together with several gigantic human bones that were found in a temple at Cojohuacan, similar to those which had been formerly sent from Tlascala, as already mentioned [3]. Besides these things, he carried over three Mexican tigers, and many other curious things which I do not now remember. One part of the business of this agency, was to carry a memorial from the *cabildo* of Mexico, and from us the conquerors of New Spain, soliciting to be supplied with bishops and clergy of holy life and exemplary manners, and requesting that all offices of honour and emolument might be conferred on us who had conquered this vast empire for our sovereign, and that the supreme government might be confided to our general Cortes. We requested that his majesty might be pleased to prohibit any lawyers from coming among us, who would throw us into confusion with their learned quibbles; and we farther represented the insufficient commission of Christoval de Tapia, who

3 From these slight notices, nothing certain can be gathered respecting these large bones: Yet there is every reason to believe they must have been of the same kind with those now familiar to the learned world, under the name of *Mammoth*. The vale of Mexico has every indication of having once been an immense inland lake, and the other *big bones* of North America have all been found in places of a similar description. The greatest deposit of these hitherto known, is at a place called *big-bone-swamp*, near the Mississippi, in the modern state of Kentucky.—E.

who had been sent out by the Bishop of Burgos, merely for the purpose of effectuating a marriage between him and the bishops niece. We deprecated the interference of the bishop in the affairs of New Spain, which had already obstructed our efforts of conquest in the service of his majesty, and had manifested great enmity against us by prohibiting the Casa de Contratation of Seville from sending us any supplies. We concluded by declaring ourselves ready to receive his majesties commands, with the most perfect submission and obedience, but that we had deemed it our bounden duty to lay all these particulars before his majesty, which had hitherto been artfully kept from his knowledge. On his part, Cortes sent a memorial to the king of twenty-one pages long, in which he left no argument unemployed to serve his own and our interest. He even requested permission to go over to the island of Cuba, and to send the governor Velasquez a prisoner to Spain, that he might be tried and punished for the injuries he had done to the public service, and especially for having sent an order to put Cortes to death.

Our agents sailed from Vera Cruz on the 20th December 1522, and no particular occurrence happened on the voyage to the Terceras or Açores, except that one of the tigers broke loose and wounded some of the sailors, who were likewise obliged to kill the other on account of its ferocity. At the island of Tercera, Captain Quinones lost his life in a duel, occasioned by a quarrel about a lady, by which means our business was left in the hands of Alonzo de Avila. In continuing his voyage to Europe, he was taken by a French privateer, commanded by one Jean Florin, who took another ship from Hispaniola with a valuable cargo of sugar and hides, and 20,000 crowns in gold, and many pearls; so that with this and our treasure he returned very rich to France, where he made magnificent presents to the king and admiral of France, astonishing every body at the magnificence of the presents which we had transmitted for our emperor. The king of France observed on this occasion, that the wealth which we supplied from New Spain was alone sufficient to enable our sovereign to wage war against him, although Peru was not then discovered. It was also reported that the king of France sent a message to our emperor, saying, That as he and the king of Portugal had divided the world between them, he desired to see the will of our father Adam, to know if he had made them exclusively his heirs. In his next expedition, Florin was made prisoner by a strong squadron belonging

belonging to Biscay, and was hanged in the island of Teneriffe.

Avila was made a close prisoner in France, but by gaining the friendship of the officer to whose custody he had been confided, he was enabled to correspond with his friends in Spain, to whom he transmitted all the documents with which he had been entrusted, which were all laid before the emperor Don Carlos by Martin Cortes, our generals father, and Diego de Ordas, by means of the licentiate Nunez, *relator* of the royal council, who was cousin to Cortes. The emperor was pleased, on due consideration of these documents, to order that all favour should be shewn to our general, and that the proceedings respecting the government of New Spain should be suspended until his majesty returned into Spain.

We were much disappointed on receiving intelligence of the loss of our treasure, and the detention of our agent in France; yet Cortes honourably reserved the district of Guatitlan for Avila, notwithstanding his captivity, and gave it three years afterwards to a brother of Alonzo de Avila, who was then promoted to be *contador* of Yucutan.

SECTION XV.

Expeditions of Gonzalo de Sandoval, Pedro de Alvarado, and others, for reducing the Mexican Provinces.

AFTER the settlement with Christoval de Tapia, the Captains Sandoval and Alvarado resumed the expeditions with which they had been before entrusted, and on this occasion I went along with Sandoval. On our arrival at Tustepeque[1], I took my lodgings on the summit of a very high tower of a temple, for the sake of fresh air, and to avoid the musquitoes, which were very troublesome below. At this place, seventy-two of the soldiers who came with Narvaez and six Spanish women

1 This expedition appears to have been for the reduction of certain provinces to the south-east of the vale of Mexico, now forming the intendency of Oaxaca, inhabited by the Mixtecas and Tzapotecas. The Tustepeque of the text, was probably a town on the Boca de Chacahua on the South Sea, now called Tututepec, in lat. 15° 50′ N. and long. 100° 15′ E. On the very imperfect map of Clavigero, it is named Totótepec, and is placed in the country of the Mixtecas.—E.

women were put to death. The whole province submitted immediately to Sandoval, except the Mexican chief who had been the principal instrument of the destruction of our soldiers, who was soon afterwards made prisoner and burnt alive. Many others had been equally guilty, but this example of severity was deemed sufficient.

Sandoval, in the next place, sent a message to the Tzapotecas, who inhabit a mountainous district about ten leagues from Tustepeque or Tututepec, ordering them to submit to his authority; and on their refusal, an expedition was sent against them under Captain Briones, who according to his own account had served with reputation in the wars of Italy. His detachment consisted of 100 Spanish infantry, and about an equal number of Indian allies; but the enemy were prepared for him, and so completely surprised him in a difficult pass of the mountains, that they drove him and his men over the rocks, rolling them down to the bottom, by which above a third of them were wounded, of whom one afterwards died. The district inhabited by the Tzapotecas is of very difficult access among rocky mountains, where the troops can only pass in single file, and the climate is very moist and rainy. The inhabitants are armed with long lances, having stone heads about an ell long, which have two edges as sharp as razors, and they are defended by pliable shields which cover their whole bodies. They are extremely nimble, and give signals to each other by loud whistlings, which echo among the rocks with inconceivable shrillness. Their province is named Tiltepeque [2]; which, after its submission, was confided to the charge of a soldier named Ojeda. On his return to quarters, Sandoval ridiculed Briones on the bad success of his expedition, asking him if he had ever seen the like in Italy; for Briones was always boasting of his exploits there, as how he had severed men in two, and the like. Briones was sore displeased with these sarcasms, and swore he would rather fight against the Turks or Moors than the Tzapotecas. There was another district of the Tzapotecas called Xaltepec, which was then at war with a neighbouring tribe, and who immediately, on being summoned by Sandoval, sent a deputation of their chiefs to wait upon him with handsome presents; among which was a considerable

2 Named, more appropriately, in the map of Clavigero, Tzapoteca-pan. —E.

siderable quantity of gold, partly made into toys, and partly in ten little tubes. Their chiefs were dressed in long cotton robes, richly embroidered, and reaching to their feet, like the upper garments worn by the Moors. They requested to be assisted by some of our soldiers against their enemies, whom they named the Minxes. The state of our force at this time did not permit him to comply with this request, but he promised to transmit their request to our general at Mexico, with an application for an auxiliary force to be sent them, and said he could only now send a small number of his men along with them, to observe the nature of the passes, but his real object was to examine their mines. With this answer he dismissed them all except three, sending eight of us along with them to explore the country and its mines.

There was another soldier of the same name with myself in this party, for indeed there were three of us in the army named Castillo. At that time I prided myself on my dress, and was called *Castillo the beau.* My namesake who went on the present expedition was named *Castillo the thoughtful,* as he was of slow speech, never replying to a question for a long while, and then answering by some absurdity. The third was called *Castillo the prompt*, as he was always very ready and smart in all his words. On our arrival at the district of Xaltepec, the Indians turned over the soil in three different rivers, in each of which they found gold, and soon filled three tubes with it as large as a mans middle finger, with which we returned to Sandoval, who now thought that all our fortunes would be made. He took a district to himself, from which he very soon procured gold to the value of 15,000 crowns. He gave the district of Xaltepec, whence we had obtained the gold, to Captain Luis Marin, but it turned out very indifferently. He gave me a very profitable district, which I wish to God I had kept; it consisted of three places, named Matalan, Oztoequipa, and Oriaca, where the *ingenio* of the viceroy is now situated; but I thought it more consistent with my character as a soldier to accompany Sandoval in his military expeditions. Sandoval called his town Medellin, after the birth-place of Cortes; and the Rio de las Vanderas, from which he procured the 15,000 crowns, was for some time the port where the merchandise from Spain was discharged, until Vera Cruz became the emporium.

We now marched into the province of Coatzacualco, through the district of Citla [3], which is about twelve leagues in length and breadth, and is very populous, having a fine climate and abounding in provisions. The chiefs immediately submitted. On our arrival at the river of Coatzacualco, which is the governing district of all the neighbouring tribes, the chiefs did not make their appearance on being summoned, which we considered as an indication of hostility, which was in fact their first intention; but after five days, they came in and made their submissions, presenting some trinkets of fine gold to Sandoval. By his orders, they collected a hundred canoes, in which we crossed the river, sending four soldiers in advance to examine and report the state of the country. A town was founded in this place, which we named Villa del Espiritu Santo, because on that day we defeated Narvaez, using that expression as our watchword, and because we crossed this river on the same day. In this place the flower of our army was established, which at this time mustered eighty cavalry, a greater number in proportion than five hundred is now, horses being then very scarce and dear. Having examined the surrounding districts, Sandoval divided them among the different settlements. To the settlement of Coatzacualco, he allotted Cuetzpaltepec, Tepeca, Chinantla, the Tzapotecas, Copilco, Cimatan, Tabasco, Cachula, the Zoques, Techeapa, Cinacatan, the Quilenes, and Papanahausta. We had a long litigation afterwards with the district of Vera Cruz about three of these, Cuetzpaltepec, Chinantla, and Tepeca; with Tabasco about Cimatan and Copilco; with Chiapa or Guatimala, concerning the Quilenes and Zoques; and likewise with the town of St Ildefonso about the Tzapotecas. I regretted having fixed myself in this place, as the lands were very poor, and every thing turned out to my disadvantage. We might indeed have done well enough if we had been left in our original situation; but as new settlements were successively formed, ours were curtailed to accommodate them, so that our colony fell into decay; and from being the best, and containing the greatest number of the true conquerors of Mexico, it has now very few inhabitants.

About this time Sandoval received intelligence of the arrival of Donna Catalina, the lady of our general, in the river of

3 I suspect this ought to be named Chinantla.—E.

of Aguayalco[4], accompanied by her brother. La Zembrana also with her family came along with her, and Donna Elvira Lopez *the tall*, who married Juan de Palma, who was afterwards hanged. We all went to pay our respects to the ladies, the roads being almost impassable owing to constant heavy rain. Having escorted Donna Catalina and the rest to our town of Coatzacualco, or Espiritu Santo, intelligence was sent to Cortes of their arrival, and they set out soon afterwards for Mexico. Cortes was sorry for their coming, but he received them with great pomp, and we heard about three months afterwards that Donna Catalina had died of an asthma.

Villafuerte had been sent to Zacatula, and Juan Alvarez Chico to Colima, two provinces on the south sea to the west of Mexico, but were unsuccessful; on which Cortes sent Christoval de Oli to reduce these provinces to submission. The natives attacked him on his march, killing two of his soldiers; yet he reached the station of Villafuerte, who was afraid to stir out, and had four even of his soldiers killed by the enemy in the town where he resided. I do not know what became of Captain Juan Alvarez, but I believe he lost his life about this time in some action with the natives. De Oli reduced both provinces to submission and returned to Mexico, where he was hardly arrived when intelligence was brought that they had again rebelled; on which Cortes sent Sandoval with a small party of veterans to take the charge of them. He punished the ringleaders of the rebellion, and regulated them in so effectual a manner, that they continued ever afterwards submissive.

On the departure of Sandoval with the ladies, several of the districts subjected to Coatzacualco rebelled, killing the soldiers who were appointed to collect the tribute; among which were the Tzapotecas of Xaltepec, Cimatan and Copilco, the first being difficult of access on account of its rugged mountains, and the two others because of lakes and marshes, so that they were not reduced to subjection without great difficulty. While Captain Luis Marin was engaged in reducing these districts, Juan Buono arrived at our settlement in

4 This may probably be some corruption of the native name of the Rio Coatzacualco, or Huaxacualco; by giving it the ordinary Spanish prefix *agua;* which signifies water, or a river, with the native termination *cualco*. —E.

in a small vessel. He immediately called us all together, and endeavoured to persuade us to submit to Christoval de Tapia as governor of New Spain, being ignorant of the return of that person to Hispaniola. Buono had a number of unaddressed letters from the bishop of Burgos, making large offers to such as would further his views of superseding Cortes, and which Buono had a discretionary power of directing to any persons that he supposed might support the cause in which he was engaged, and which he accordingly transmitted to those who held offices in the settlement. Among the rest, I was offered the appointment of regidor. When Buono learnt that Tapia had left the country, he seemed much disappointed. We referred him to Cortes at Mexico, to which place he went. I know not what passed between him and Cortes, but I believe the general sent him back to Spain with some money in his pocket.

Among the tribes that courted our alliance after the conquest of Mexico, was a people of the Tzapotecan nation, named the Tutepecs, who earnestly requested our assistance against a hostile tribe, who bore the same name with themselves, and whom they represented as possessing a very rich country. Accordingly, in the year 1522, Alvarado marched from Mexico with a detachment of 180 soldiers, cavalry and infantry, with orders to take twenty more on his march through the district of Oaxaco, and also to visit and reduce during his march certain mountainous districts which were said to be in rebellion. Alvarado was forty days on his march between Mexico and Tutepec, and was very hospitably received on his arrival, being lodged in the most populous part of the city, where the houses stood close together, and were thatched with straw, it not being the custom of that part of the country to have terraced roofs, on account of their climate being very sultry. By the advice of Father Olmedo, Alvarado removed his quarters to a more open part of the town; as in case of any treachery being intended, the natives might easily have set fire to the first quarters. In this place, Alvarado was plentifully supplied with provisions, and the principal chief made him every day some rich present of gold; and among other things gave him a pair of golden stirrups, made according to a pattern. Yet, only a few days after, the cacique was made a prisoner, on the information, as was said, of the Indians of Tecuantepec, that he meant to burn the Spaniards in the quarters which had been assigned them in the temples. Some of the Spaniards alleged

alleged that Alvarado made him a prisoner in order to extort gold for his ransom. However this may have been, he died in prison of vexation, after Alvarado had got from him to the value of 30,000 crowns. His son was permitted to succeed him in the government, from whom Alvarado obtained more gold than he had done from the father. Alvarado now established a colony, which was called *Segura*, because most of the colonists came from Tepeaca, named by us Segura de la Frontera.

Alvarado set out soon afterwards on his return to Mexico with all his wealth, as Cortes had written to him to bring all the treasure he possibly could, which he intended to send into Spain. The soldiers were much dissatisfied at being thus excluded from any share, and several of them entered into a conspiracy to assassinate Alvarado and his brothers. One of the conspirators, named Tribejo, gave information of the plot to Father Olmedo, only a few hours before it was intended to have been executed; and the reverend Father informed Alvarado, just as he was riding out along with some of the conspirators. He continued his intended excursion for a short way; then turning suddenly, he complained of a pain in his side, saying he must go back for a surgeon to bleed him. On his arrival at quarters, he immediately sent for his two brothers, together with the alcaldes and alguazils of the settlement, whom he ordered to arrest the conspirators, two of whom were hanged. Alvarado returned to Mexico with his gold; but the colonists finding all the gold taken away, and that the place was hot and unhealthy, infested with musqutioes, bugs, and other vermin, and themselves and slaves fast dying, they abandoned the settlement, some going to Mexico, and others to different places. Cortes was much displeased at this abandonment, and finding on inquiry that it had been done by a resolution of the alcaldes and regidors in full cabildo, he condemned them to suffer death; but their punishment, at the intercession of Olmedo, was mitigated to banishment. Thus the settlement of Segura fell to the ground, which had been established in a very fertile country, but exceedingly unhealthy. By the cruelty and extortion of Alvarado, the minds of the natives were alienated, and they threw off their allegiance; but he reduced them again to submission, and they continued afterwards to behave themselves peaceably.

SECTION

Section XVI.

Some Account of the Expedition of Francisco de Garay for the Colonization of Panuco.

Having formerly mentioned the expedition fitted out by Francisco de Garay, the governor of Jamaica, it seems proper to give a more particular account of that affair in this place. Hearing of the great riches which Diego Velasquez was likely to acquire from New Spain, and of the fertile countries which had been discovered on the continent of the West Indies, and encouraged by the means he now possessed of prosecuting discoveries and conquests, he determined to try his own fortune in that career. For this purpose he sent for and discoursed with Alaminos, who had been our chief pilot, from whom he received so favourable an account of these countries, that he sent Juan de Torralva, a person in whom he could confide, to solicit the bishop of Burgos to grant him a commission for settling the country on the river of Panuco; and having succeeded in this preliminary step, he fitted out an armament of three ships, with 240 soldiers, under the command of Alonzo Alvarez Pineda, who was defeated by the Panuchese, one ship only escaping, which joined us at Villa Rica, as already related. Receiving no intelligence of the fate of his first armament, Garay sent a second, which also arrived at our port. Having now expended a great deal of money to no purpose, and having learnt the good fortune of Cortes, he became more than ever desirous to secure the advantages he expected to derive from his commission. With this view he fitted out thirteen ships, in which he embarked 136 cavalry, and 840 foot soldiers, mostly musqueteers and crossbow-men, of which he took the command in person. He sailed with this great armament from Jamaica, on the 24th June 1523, and arrived safe at the port of Xagua in the island of Cuba, where he received information that Cortes had reduced the province of Panuco to subjection, and had sent a petition to the emperor to get a commission for governing his new acquisition. He was here informed of the heroic deeds of Cortes and his companions, and in particular of our having defeated the large force of Narvaez, while we had only 270 soldiers.

Struck

Struck with awe at the power and abilities of our general, he solicited the licentiate Zuazco to mediate between him and Cortes, that he might be permitted to take possession of the government of Panuco, in pursuance of his commission from the bishop of Burgos.

Garay shortly afterwards set out with his armament, and being driven by a storm into the river Palmas [1], he disembarked there, intending to march by land to Panuco, having first exacted an oath of fidelity from his troops; and he even nominated the various officers of his colony, which he intended to name Garayana. Having marched for two days along the sea-shore, through a marshy uninhabited country, he arrived at some villages, where the inhabitants entertained him hospitably, but many of his soldiers straggled about robbing and maltreating the people. Garay at length arrived at Panuco, where his soldiers expected all their difficulties would end, but it was almost a desert, as it had been much wasted in the war with Cortes, and the natives concealed what remained, so that they found nothing but bare walls, where they were tormented with mosquitos and every kind of vermin. Garay could get no intelligence of his fleet, and learnt from a Spaniard who had fled from punishment and lived among the Indians, that the province of Panuco was poor and unhealthy; and as this man gave a very favourable account of Mexico, many of Garays soldiers deserted from him, and went off for Mexico, plundering the natives on their way. Garay found himself in a bad plight, and sent one of his officers, named Diego de Ocampo, to sound the disposition of Vallejo, who was governor of St Estevan del Puerto for Cortes, and to notify the appointment of Garay to the government of this country. Vallejo gave a favourable answer, requesting the soldiers might be restrained from maltreating the inhabitants; but sent off an express to Cortes, soliciting a strong reinforcement or the immediate presence of the general. On receiving this intelligence, Cortes immediately sent off Alvarado, Sandoval, Father Olmedo, and Gonzalo de Ocampo, brother to Diego de Ocampo, who was with Garay, giving them a copy of the royal instructions, by which all his conquests were left under his command till the dispute between him and Velasquez were judicially settled.

On

1 This is probably the river of Nueva Santander, about 100 miles north from the Rio Tampico or river of Panuco.—E.

On the arrival of Garay in the neighbourhood of St Estevan, Vallejo learnt from five deserters that the troops were scattered negligently in a large town called Nacoplan, on which he concerted a plan for coming on them by surprise, and made forty of them prisoners, alleging that they had invaded the country without a commission, and had plundered the inhabitants who lived under his government. Garay threatened Vallejo with the vengeance of the court of Spain for this outrage, and demanded the immediate release of his soldiers; on which Vallejo requested to see his commission, which, if from his majesty, he would obey in all humility. Just at this time arrived the deputies from Cortes, and Diego de Ocampo, being then first alcalde of Mexico, made a formal remonstrance against the entrance of Garay with an armed force into the government of another person. Several days were spent in remonstrances and replies on both sides, during which time many of Garays troops deserted from him.

Two of the ships belonging to Garay were lost in a tempest, and the remainder took shelter in the mouth of the river, when Vallejo secretly negotiated with their officers to join the party of Cortes. He at length contrived to inviegle the whole of the fleet up the river to the port of St Estevan, where he made all their officers and men prisoners in the name of Cortes; but Father Olmedo persuaded him to set them at liberty. The unfortunate Garay entreated the officers of Cortes to restore his ships and to compel his troops to return to their duty, promising to give up his intended settlement at Panuco, and to retire to the river Palmas. They agreed to this, and used every measure to induce the deserters to return, but with little effect; as they alleged they had already discharged their engagement in coming to Panuco, and they despised Garay. In this hopeless state, Garay was persuaded to write to Cortes, stating his situation, and requesting his protection and assistance, in consideration of their former friendship. Cortes engaged to do what he desired, and invited him to come to Mexico, where he was honourably received, and promised every redress, referring him to Olmedo, Sandoval, and Alvarado, to agree with him on the terms. At the suggestion of Olmedo, a marriage was proposed between Donna Catalina Cortes y Pizarro, the daughter of Cortes, and the eldest son of Garay, who had a command in the fleet. Cortes agreed to this, giving his

daughter

daughter a liberal fortune, and agreed that Garay should establish a colony on the river Palmas, in which he engaged to give him every assistance in his power. Garay now interceded with Cortes to allow Narvaez to return to Cuba, for which favour Narvaez was extremely thankful, and took leave of Cortes with many professions of gratitude. Soon afterwards, Garay was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died in four days, leaving Cortes and Father Olmedo his executors. As his armament was left without a head, a competition arose among his officers for the vacant command; but young Garay was ultimately made general. This gave great offence to the soldiers, in consequence of which they dispersed about the country in small bodies of fifteen or twenty men, pillaging the natives as if they had been among Moors. This enraged the Indians, who laid a plot to cut off the Spaniards, which they executed so effectually that in a very short time they sacrificed and eat above five hundred of the soldiers of Garay, in some of the towns upwards of a hundred of them being destroyed at one time. In other places they fell upon the stragglers, whom they massacred almost without resistance; and, encouraged by this success, they even rose against the settlement of Estevan in such numbers, that they could hardly be resisted by Vallejo and seven or eight of the veterans of Cortes, who induced many of Garays soldiers to abide by them in the open field, where three battles were fought, in one of which Vallejo was slain, and a great number of Spaniards wounded. The Indians became at length so bold and desperate, that they one night killed and burned forty Spaniards, among whom were several belonging to Cortes, and destroyed fifteen horses. When Cortes heard of these proceedings he was much enraged, and would have gone in person to suppress the rebellion, but was then confined by a broken arm; wherefore he sent Gonzalo de Sandoval, with 100 infantry, 50 cavalry, 15 musqueteers, and two field-pieces, accompanied by 8000 Mexican and Tlascalan warriors, giving orders to reduce the country so completely under subjection that they might not have power to give any farther disturbance.

Sandoval was a person of much vigilance when he had any important business in hand, and made no delay in marching against the enemy, who had concentrated their forces in two narrow defiles. Sandoval divided his forces into two bodies, but was so obstinately resisted, that he drew off his forces, feigning to retreat to Mexico, followed by the Indians, whom

he

he completely deceived, making an unexpected countermarch at midnight, by which he gained possession of the passes; yet not till he had lost three horses, and had a great many of his men wounded. On passing the defiles, he found himself opposed in front by an immense body of Indians, who had collected on receiving notice of his countermarch. He concentrated his whole force into one solid column; and as his cavalry were inexperienced in the service, he gave them full instructions never to halt making thrusts, as the Indians always seized the lances when wounded, and often wrested them from the hands of our men; but ordered them to clap spurs to their horses on such occasions, firmly grasping their lances, and thus force them from the enemy by the strength of their horses. Having placed guards and patroles, and ordered the horses of the cavalry to remain all night saddled and bridled, he made the troops repose under arms on the banks of a river, placing the Mexican and Tlascalan warriors at a short distance from the Spanish troops, knowing by experience that the allies were of more harm than benefit in a night attack. At day-break next morning, Sandoval put his troops in motion, and was soon fronted by three large bodies of the enemy, who endeavoured to surround him. Forming his cavalry in two squadrons, he attacked the enemy with such spirit that they were soon broken and dispersed, with the loss of two soldiers and three horses on his side. The allies made terrible havock after this victory, burning and plundering all before them, till the arrival of the army at St Estevan. The remains of this colony were found in a miserable condition, and the soldiers of Garay assured him that its preservation was entirely owing to the bravery and conduct of our few veterans who were there. Sandoval divided his army into several bodies, which he entrusted to the command of the veterans, and sent them to overrun the neighbouring districts, with orders to send in all the provisions they could collect, being unable to go out himself, as he was badly wounded. In the course of three days, his parties sent in many prisoners of the ordinary class, and five chiefs; but Sandoval released the common people, and ordered his troops to make no more prisoners, except of such chiefs as had been concerned in or present at the murder of the Spaniards. In a few days Sandoval was able to take the field, and by skilful measures he made prisoners of twenty caciques, who had commanded where no less than six hundred Spaniards were

slain.

slain. He then summoned all the neighbouring towns to send their chiefs to him to treat of peace and submission: Some obeyed, but others neglected to attend, and he thought it best to dissimulate with the latter for the present, till he had informed Cortes what had been already done, and had received his orders as to the disposal of the prisoners and his future procedure. Cortes, who now conferred the vacant command of St Estevan on Sandoval, ordered all who had been any way concerned in the murder of the Spaniards to be punished with death, as an example to deter others from being guilty of the like offence, directing Diego de Ocampo, as alcalde-major, to take the necessary steps against them, with orders to execute all who should be found guilty. He gave orders likewise to conciliate the natives by all possible means, and to prevent the soldiers of Garay from committing any future outrages. Two days after the receipt of these orders, the accused caciques were brought to trial; and many of them being found guilty by evidence, or by their own confession, were publickly executed, some being burnt and others hanged. Many also were pardoned; and all the districts which had belonged to the caciques who suffered on this occasion, were restored to their children or other heirs. Ocampo now proceeded against all those Spaniards who had been guilty of outrages, going about the country in bands, plundering and murdering the natives, or who had invited other soldiers to desert to them; and having collected them together, he shipped them off for Cuba. To Juan de Grijalva, who had been commodore of the fleet under Garay, Cortes offered the alternative of a present of 2000 crowns, and a passage to Cuba, or an honourable reception at Mexico. But Grijalva and all the other officers belonging to Garay preferred going to Cuba. When Sandoval and Ocampo had thus reduced the settlement to order, and cleared it of these troublesome inmates, they returned to Mexico, leaving the command at St Estevan to an officer named Vallecillo; and on their arrival at the capital, they were received by Cortes and others with the distinction which their services richly merited [2].

SECTION

2 A very uninteresting episode, respecting the misfortunes of the licentiate Zuazo, who has been formerly mentioned, is here omitted, as having no reference whatever to the general history in hand: It is sufficient to say that, after many perils by sea and land, Zuazo came to Mexico, where Cortes gave him the office of alcalde-major, which seems to have resembled our provost-marshal, or chief military judge.—E.

Section XVII.

Narrative of various Expeditions for the Reduction of different Provinces in New Spain.

As the views of Cortes were always lofty, so was he always well supported by the talents and bravery of his officers and soldiers. After his power was thoroughly established in the great city of Mexico and its more immediate dependencies, and in the districts or provinces of Guaxaca, Zacatula, Colima, Vera Cruz, Panuco, Coatzacualco, and others, as already related, he was informed that there were populous nations and rich mines in the province of Guatimala; and he resolved to send a military force under Alvarado, to conquer and colonize that country. Alvarado, therefore, was dispatched to that province, with 300 infantry, 135 cavalry, 200 Tlascalans and Cholulans, and 100 Mexicans [1], and four field-pieces. Alvarado was instructed to bring those nations to submission by peaceful means, if possible; and Father Olmedo accompanied him, on purpose to preach the doctrines of our holy religion to the natives; and at all events, to insist upon all the prisons and cages that were used for human victims being destroyed, the prisoners set free, and the utter abolition of human sacrifices and cannibal feasts. This expedition left Mexico on the 13th of December 1523; and Alvarado during his march, received the submission of the district known by the name of the Rocks of Guelama, where he received many rich contributions in gold. Having passed the districts belonging to the Tzapotecas of Tecuantepec, and by Soconusco, a town containing above 15,000 houses, Alvarado came to the neighbourhood of a place named Zapotitlan, where, at a bridge over a river, he was opposed by a very numerous body of warriors who disputed the passage with so much bravery, that many of the soldiers were wounded and one horse killed; and it required three very hard fought battles before the Spaniards were able to break through and disperse the enemy.

From this place, continuing his march, Alvarado was continually

1 Though without any warrant for this purpose, we believe that the numbers of these allies ought to have been reckoned by thousands instead of hundreds.—E.

tinually harassed by the Indians of Quetzaltenango, and came at length to a defile in a high mountain, where the ascent was about a league and a half. On arriving at the summit, a remarkably fat woman was found in the act of sacrificing a dog, which is an infallible token of intended hostilities; and immediately afterwards, great numbers of armed Indians were seen advancing on all sides, in a difficult broken ground, where the cavalry of Alvarado were unable to act. In this rough and impracticable place, above 6000 of the warriors of Utatlan, a district adjoining to Quetzaltenango, made an attack upon our troops; and being soon put to flight, they rallied shortly after, reinforced by great numbers of fresh troops, who waited the advance of our forces, and fought them bravely hand to hand. On this occasion, three or four of the enemy uniting their efforts, used to seize a horse before and behind, endeavouring to pull him to the ground, and it required the most strenuous exhortations both of Alvarado and Father Olmedo to animate the exertions of our troops, who at length succeeded in defeating and dispersing the Indians. Our army halted in the field of battle for three days, unmolested by the enemy, and then marched to Quetzaltenango, where Alvarado hoped to have given his troops some repose; but he found two xiquipils of warriors, or 16,000 men assembled to oppose him in a plain, where he gave them so complete a defeat, with so heavy a loss of warriors, that they remained for a long time under complete awe of the Spaniards. The chiefs of these Indians sent a deputation to Alvarado, offering peace and submission, under which they had concealed a plan for destroying his army in the following manner. At a short distance there was a place called Utatlan, in a very difficult rugged country, and surrounded by defiles, to which they invited him to march, intending to fall upon him there with all their forces, as in that place the cavalry could not act.

Alvarado accordingly marched to Utatlan, a town of considerable strength, which had only two gates, the ascent to one of which was by a stair of about twenty-five steps, and the other opened to a very bad broken causeway, the streets likewise being very narrow, and the houses very close together. Observing the bad situation of this place, and that the women and children had disappeared, Alvarado began to suspect that some mischief was in contemplation; and he was informed by some Indians of the place he had last quitted, that a number of

warriors

warriors were concealed all round the place, to which they meant to set fire in the night, and then assault him with all their forces. Alvarado immediately called his troops to arms, and marched out into the open country, telling the chiefs that he did so for the purpose of procuring grass for his horses. They did not seem pleased with this change; and as soon as Alvarado was completely clear of the town, he seized the principal cacique, whom he reproached for his treachery, and ordered to be burnt alive. Father Olmedo obtained a respite of this sentence, with permission to endeavour to convert the condemned cacique to the holy faith, in which he exerted himself a whole day, and at length succeeded: and, *as an indulgence*, his punishment was commuted to hanging, and his territory given to his son. After this, Alvarado attacked and dispersed the native warriors who were in the neighbourhood of the town. When this success became known in Guatimala, which was engaged in hostility with the people of Utatlan, they sent an embassy to treat with Alvarado before his arrival on their frontiers, bringing a present of gold, declaring their submission to the government of our emperor, and offering to serve as allies in all our wars. Alvarado accepted their submission and offer of service, and desired them to send him 2000 of their warriors, with which they immediately complied; and as the people of Utatlan had again rebelled, he remained eight days in their country, collecting considerable spoil and making many slaves; after which he marched to the city of Guatimala, where he was hospitably received.

As the utmost harmony subsisted between Alvarado and the natives of Guatimala, the chiefs of that nation represented to him that a nation in their neighbourhood, called the Altitlans, who occupied several strong fortresses on the side of a lake, had refused to make submission to him, and that they were a barbarous and malicious people. Alvarado sent a message commanding these people to submit, but they abused his messengers; on which he marched against them with 140 Spanish soldiers and 2000 warriors of the Guatimalans, and was resisted by a strong force of the Altitlans, whom he soon defeated with considerable loss, and pursued to their fortresses on the lake. Having driven them from these fortresses, they took shelter in an island of the lake, to which he sent several of their chiefs whom he had taken prisoners, to persuade them into peace and submission, in which he at length succeeded, partly by threats and partly by promises, and re-

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turned to Guatimala. Father Olmedo exerted himself so effectually in his mission, that he prevailed upon the people to imitate our example, in adoring the holy Virgin, for which purpose he erected an altar and image of our lady, and explained the mysteries of the Christian faith to the natives. A people named the Pipiles, who came from a considerable distance towards the south, to enter into submission to Alvarado, informed him that a nation in their way, called the Izcuintepecs, were of a malignant disposition, and maltreated all travellers through their country. He sent, therefore, a message to invite them to come in and submit, which they refused to comply with; for which reason he marched into their country with his whole force, united to a strong body of his allies of Guatimala, and made great havock among them. Not having been present in this expedition, as I did not go into the province of Guatimala until my return from Higueras, I have only given a short summary of the conquest of Guatimala and its dependencies, which may be found related at full length in a book written by Gonzalo de Alvarado.

About this time Cortes was informed that the provinces of Higueras and Honduras contained rich mines, and some sailors reported that the native fishers of these countries used weights to their nets made of gold mixed with copper; they alleged also, that a strait or passage would probably be found in that direction into the Pacific Ocean. On these accounts he determined to send some troops to that country under Christoval de Oli, to inquire after the mines, and to search for this reported strait, by which a communication might be opened with the Spice Islands; and as the way by land was long and difficult, it was determined to send this expedition by sea. Accordingly, de Oli embarked in six ships, with a force of 370 soldiers, 100 of whom were musqueteers and crossbowmen, and 22 cavalry. Five of the veteran conquerors of Mexico went along with this expedition; among whom was one Briones, a seditious fellow and a bitter enemy of Cortes; besides whom, many of the soldiers on this expedition were greatly dissatisfied at the unequal distribution of lands which had been made in New Spain. De Oli was ordered to go first to the Havanna, to procure a supply of provisions and necessaries, and then to pursue his voyage to the Higueras to make the necessary inquiries for the reported mines and straits; after which he was to build a town in some commodious situation. To advance the interests of our holy religion,

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he was provided with two friars, one of whom understood the Mexican language. At the Havanna, de Oli took on board five of the followers of Garay, who had been expelled from Panuco for seditious conduct, who ingratiated themselves into his confidence, and advised him to renounce his obedience to Cortes, in which they were aided by Briones; so that he at length went over to the party of Velasquez, who engaged to make such representations at court that the command of this intended settlement might be given to de Oli independent of Cortes. De Oli was a brave man, and endowed with many good qualities, yet unfit for his present employment, having been brought up in the house of Velasquez, so that he was the more readily influenced by bad advisers to desert the interest of Cortes to whom he lay under great obligations. On the third of May, de Oli arrived at his station, which he named *El Triumpho de la Cruz*, where he appointed to the civil administration of the new colony, such alcaldes and regidors as had been recommended by Cortes, and even took possession of the country for his majesty in the name of Cortes, as he wished to conceal his secession from our general till he saw whether the country was sufficiently rich to be worth while to set up an independent government; as, if it turned out otherwise, he could return to his possessions in Mexico, and gloss over his negociations with Velasquez, under pretence of having done so in order to procure the necessary supplies. In this manner was the new colony of El Triumpho established, from whence Cortes had no intelligence for more than eight months.

There were a considerable number of veterans and Spaniards of rank, established in the town of Coatzacuaclo, otherwise called Del Espiritu Santo, who were entrusted with the government of that province, together with the districts of Citla, Tabasco, Cimatan, Choutalpa, Cachula, Zoque, the Quilenes, Cinacatan, Chamuela, Chiapa, Papanahausta, Pinula, Xaltepec, Huaxaltepec, Chinantla, Tepeque, and others; but through all New Spain, the demand for tribute was the signal of insurrection, and all who attempted to levy it were killed, as were all Spaniards who fell into the hands of the natives; so that we were continually obliged to go from one town to another with a company of soldiers to preserve peace. As the district of Cimatan was particularly refractory, and Captain Luis Marin could not conveniently send a body of troops to that place, I and three other Spaniards were sent there to endeavour to

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prevail on the people to submit. On approaching the principal town, we were attacked by a large body of Indians, who killed two of my companions, and wounded me desperately in the throat. My surviving companion made off to some canoes on the banks of the river Macapa, leaving me alone and in great jeopardy; but I crept under cover of some bushes where I lay some time almost exhausted, and recovering my strength after some time, I forced my way through the natives, and escaped to where my companion was in the canoes, with four Indians whom we had brought with us to carry our baggage, which they had thrown away, and for the sake of which the natives quitted us, so that we got across the river, which is broad and deep and full of alligators. To avoid the Indians, we concealed ourselves for eight days in the woods, so that we were concluded to be lost, and our property in lands and Indians was divided among the other Spaniards, such being then the custom in New Spain. We returned to the town, however, at the end of twenty-three days, to the great joy of our friends, and the disappointment of those who had succeeded to our property.

Our captain, Luis Marin, thought proper to wait upon Cortes, to represent the necessity of a reinforcement; and accordingly got thirty soldiers, commanded by Alonzo de Grado, with orders for all the Spaniards at Coatzacualco to march for the province of Chiapa, which was then in a state of rebellion, and directions to build a town there to keep the natives in order. In the first place, we had to make roads through the woods, and the country being very marshy, we were under the necessity of constructing causeways in many places to enable the horses to pass. The first place we came to was Tezputzlan, and thence to Cachula, beyond which there had been no passage before our expedition, all the other natives being in great fear of the inhabitants of Chiapa, who were then the bravest warriors in all America, and had never been subdued by the Mexicans; but they were extremely barbarous, being in use to rob all passengers, and to carry away the natives of other districts to till their ground. The present expedition was during Lent, and as well as I can now remember, in the year 1524, our little army consisting of 27 cavalry, 23 musqueteers, 72 foot soldiers armed with sword and target, and one field-piece under the direction of a cowardly fellow of a gunner, who pretended to have served in Italy. Besides these, we had 80 Mexican warriors, and the cacique of Ca-

chula with some of his principal people, who were all terribly afraid. On approaching Chiapa, an advanced guard of four of our most active soldiers, of whom I was one, always preceded the army to reconnoitre, and as the ground was not fit for a horse, I left mine behind. We were usually about half a league in front of the army, but on our approach to Estapa, their first settlement, some of the hunters of Chiapa perceived us at a distance, and gave the alarm by means of smoke. The road was now wide and convenient, between well cultivated fields of corn and other vegetables; and on coming to Estapa we found it abandoned by the inhabitants, on which we posted our guards and patroles, and took up our quarters for the night. We were soon disturbed by information from our outguards, that the natives were collecting on every side to attack us; and, going out of town to meet them we had a severe action, in which they killed two of our soldiers and four horses, wounding our reverend father Fra Juan, and thirteen soldiers, including our captain Luis Marin, who was wounded in two places; besides which many of our allies were slain. This action lasted till dark night, when the enemy were forced to retire, leaving fifteen slain and many wounded in the field. From two of the wounded, who seemed chiefs, we learnt that a general attack was intended against us next day. These people were clothed in good defensive armour of quilted cotton, using darts hardened in the fire, war clubs, and lances longer than ours, and they fought with unusual bravery; insomuch that, when one of our horsemen halted to make a thrust, the Indians seized the horse, and either wrested the lance from the horseman or pulled him to the ground.

Next day we pursued our march to Chiapa, a place with very regular streets, and containing not less than four thousand families, besides the dependent towns and villages around. We had not proceeded above a quarter of a league from Estapa, where we had passed the night, when we found the whole warriors of the district drawn up to oppose us, well armed, dressed up in plumes of feathers, and making the hills resound with their warlike shouts. They attacked us with the utmost fury, and our black gunner was so stupified with fear, that he stood long trembling before he durst put the match to the gun, and when he fired the piece all the good he did was wounding three of our own men. After a severe conflict, we at length forced them to fly; but they rallied in

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some broken ground, reinforced by some fresh bodies of Indians, and attacked us again by surprize, while we were giving God thanks for our victory. In these new troops, many were provided with long thongs to twist round our horses, and some carried the nets they used in hunting for the same purpose. In this second battle the enemy were so desperate that they killed two of our soldiers and five horses, and scarce one of us escaped without a wound. They had along with them a very fat aged woman, whom they esteemed a wizard, who had promised them the victory. Her body was all covered over with paint mixed with cotton wool; and she advanced fearlessly amid our allies, who were regularly formed by companies, by whom she was cut to pieces. At length, by a violent effort, we forced the enemy to fly, some taking to the rocks and others to the river, and being excellent swimmers they made their escape. We then halted and sang the *Salve regina:* After which we took possession of a town on the river, where we halted for the night, taking care of our wounded, and carefully concealing our dead.

About midnight, ten chiefs of neighbouring districts came down the river in five canoes, and were brought to our captain, whom they informed that they belonged to the nation of the Xaltepecs, who were at war with the people of Chiapa, and came to offer their assistance to us against them, on condition that we should afterwards support the independence of their nation against the people of Chiapa. This was very satisfactory to us, as we could not have passed the river, which was both broad and deep, without their assistance; the chiefs were therefore dismissed with a promise on our part of protection, and on theirs to bring us canoes and auxiliaries. During the remainder of the night we had to keep strict guard, as the drums and horns of the enemy were heard on the opposite banks of the river, where their warriors were collecting from all sides to attack us. As soon as it was light, our new friends joined us with the promised canoes, and shewed us a very dangerous ford, which they urged us to pass without delay, that we might endeavour to save the lives of some of their people who had been recently made prisoners by the enemy. We accordingly passed the river in a solid column at the ford, which reached our armpits, and where we lost one of our cavalry. On gaining the opposite bank, we were so hotly assailed by the enemy with darts and arrows, that every one of us had two or three wounds before we got out of the

the water. But as we were now joined by large bodies of those Indians who had offered their assistance, we soon compelled the enemy to fly for shelter to their city, against which we immediately advanced in good order, accompanied by our new allies. On arriving there, it seemed too closely built to be occupied with safety, and we encamped therefore in the open field, sending messengers to invite them to peace, with which they complied, by sending a deputation of their chiefs, who submitted to become subject to our sovereign, and requiring that the neighbouring tribes might be prevented from destroying their houses and plantations. All these things being settled to our mutual satisfaction, we went into the town, where we found many prisoners confined in wooden cages, who had been seized by the Chiapese while travelling from place to place, all of whom we set free. In the temples of this place we found several idols of horrible figures, and many remains of men and boys, who had been recently sacrificed. Our reverend father Fra Juan, broke all the idols to pieces, and preached so successfully that many were baptized. Many of the chiefs of the neighbouring tribes came in and made their submission: Among these were the chiefs of Cinacatan, Papanahaustla, Pinola, Guehuistlan, Chamula, the Quilenes, and others who spoke the Zoque language, and many other tribes, the names of which I do not now remember. These people were much surprised when they perceived the smallness of the force with which we had ventured to attack a nation so warlike as the Chiapese, whom the Mexicans were never able to subdue.

While our captain was thus occupied in arranging matters with the chiefs of the surrounding districts, one of our soldiers went accompanied by eight Mexicans, to a town called Chamula, where he demanded a contribution of gold in the name of our captain, though entirely without authority. A quantity was accordingly offered him; but not being satisfied with the amount, he attempted to seize the cacique, by which violent proceeding he occasioned an insurrection of that town, and another in the neighbourhood called Quiahuitlan or Guehuistlan. When this improper transaction came to the ears of our captain, he sent the soldier a prisoner to Mexico, and immediately marched to Chamula to quell the insurrection, being assisted on this occasion by the inhabitants of Cinacatan, a polished tribe which was addicted to merchandize. On our arrival at Chamula, we found the

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place strongly fortified by art and nature, and the people well armed, having a peculiar species of large shield which covered the whole body, and could be rolled up into a small compass when not in use. Our cavalry were ordered to keep guard in the plain in our rear, to watch the motions of the insurgents in the neighbouring districts; while the infantry endeavoured to force their way into the town; but our musketeers made very little impression, as the enemy were covered by their walls, while their missiles injured us materially, being exposed without any defence. We continued the attack during the whole day to very little purpose, being unable to force the ramparts, which were guarded by above 2000 men armed with lances. We therefore drew off for the time, and procured some timber from a depopulated town in the neighbourhood, with which we constructed certain machines named *mantas* or *burros*, under cover of which twenty men or more could approach the walls in safety, to work a passage through them. On our first attempt to do this, the enemy threw down upon our machines, heavy stones, fire, and scalding water, so that we were constrained to remove our machines to repair the injury they had sustained. We again brought forward our machines to the walls, and at length succeeded in making several breaches. While employed in this manner, four of their principal chiefs and priests addressed us from the top of the ramparts, saying, since we wanted gold they had brought us some, and then threw over seven crowns of fine gold, with many gold trinkets, some of which were cast in the shape of various birds, shells, and the like; immediately after which they assailed us with repeated vollies of darts, arrows, and stones. By the time that it was dark, we had made two considerable breaches; but as a heavy rain came on, we drew off for the night, keeping a vigilant guard round our post, and having our cavalry on the alert in the plain, ready saddled and bridled. During the whole night, the enemy kept continually sounding their warlike instruments, making horrid yells, and threatening us with destruction next day, which they said was promised by their gods. We brought forward our machines again at day-break to enlarge the breaches we had made on the preceding day; but the enemy defended themselves with great obstinacy, wounding five of our people, and myself among the rest by the thrust of a lance, which had gone through me, had it not been for the strength of my quilted cotton armour. Towards evening

evening it came on again to rain hard, and we were called off from the attack; but as the enemy ceased to shout and make their usual noises, I suspected they were about leaving the town, and perceived also that their lances were mostly rested against the walls and parapets, except about two hundred which still appeared in the hands of a part of the enemy. On this, I and one of my comrades crept in at a small breach in the wall, and were immediately attacked by above two hundred of these lancemen, who would soon have dispatched us, if some of our Indian allies had not noticed our perilous situation, and called the rest of our soldiers to our aid, who crowded in at the breach and soon enabled us to put the enemy to flight. These were only the rear guard of the garrison, all the rest of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, having evacuated the town by the opposite gate. We immediately pursued, and made many prisoners.

Leaving this place, we marched for Cinacatan, and halted for the night at the place where *Chiapa de los Espanoles* is now built; from whence our captain dismissed six of our prisoners, with a message to their countrymen, offering to restore all the rest of the prisoners, if they would submit. They immediately complied with this, and submitted themselves as subjects to the Spanish monarchy. In this neighbourhood dwelt a nation called the Guehuistlans [2], who possessed three fortified towns, and were in rebellion against us. Leaving our baggage and wounded men in Cinacatan, we proceeded to reduce these people to submission. They had barricaded all the approaches to their towns by means of felled trees, which were cleared away by the aid of our Indian allies, and we got up to one of their fortresses, which threatened to give us infinite trouble, as it was full of warriors, well armed both for offence and defence. But they all fled when we mounted to the assault, leaving the place to us without resistance. By means of two prisoners who were taken by our allies, offers of peace and good treatment were sent to them, on condition of submission; with which they complied, bringing with them some trifling presents of gold and *quetzal* feathers.

Having thus effected our business in this place, by reducing all the surrounding tribes to submission, we proceeded, according

2 Diaz is often variable in his orthography of Indian names; calling this people in different places, Gueguestitlans, Guehuistlans, and Quiabuistlans. —E.

according to the orders of Cortes, to establish a colony, though some who had already plantations and Indians in Coatzacualco objected to this place as unfit for cavalry, and that our force was too small for keeping so populous a district under subjection, especially as the natives had many strong fortresses in the fastnesses of their mountains. Even our captain, Luis Marin, and the royal notary Diego de Godoy, were adverse to the plan. Alonzo de Grado, also, a very troublesome fellow, was possessed of a patent from Cortes, by which he was entitled to an *encomienda* in the province of Chiapa, when reduced to obedience; and in virtue of this, he demanded that all the gold which had been received from the Indians of Chiapa, and also, that which had been found in the temples, amounting to about 1500 crowns, should be delivered up to him. This was refused by Marin, who alleged that it ought to be applied for replacing the horses which were killed during the expedition. These disputes ran so high, that our captain ordered both Godoy and De Grado into irons, intending to send them to Mexico. Godoy obtained his liberty by concessions; and in return for this lenity entered into cabals with De Grado for misrepresenting the conduct of Marin to Cortes. On this occasion I was solicited to write to Cortes in exculpation of De Grado, as they said that Cortes would believe my statements. I wrote accordingly a true state of the case, but in no respect charging Marin with any thing amiss. De Grado was sent off to Mexico, under an oath to appear before Cortes in eighty days, as the distance he had to travel exceeded 190 leagues. On his arrival, Cortes was so much displeased by his conduct, that he ordered De Grado to take 3000 crowns and retire to Cuba, that he might give no farther trouble in his government; but De Grado made such ample apologies, that he was restored to favour. As it was finally resolved to establish a colony in this place, and as I had an order to that effect from Cortes, our captain, who was likewise my particular friend, appointed me to the command of the *encomienda* at Cinacatan, which I enjoyed for eight years. As soon as possible after my appointment, I procured a reverend father to preach to the Indians, whom I was anxious to convert to our holy faith. He accordingly erected an altar and crucifix, and preached with so much success, that fifteen of the Indians offered themselves for baptism on the first day of his mission; which gave me infinite satisfaction, as I felt the warmest interest in

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the welfare of these people, whom I looked upon as my own children.

When all things were properly settled at this place, we resolved to chastise the people of Cimatan who had slain two of the party with which I had been deputed to them, as formerly mentioned near the beginning of this section. In our way to that place, we had to march through a district named Tapelola, which was so very rugged that our horses were unable to proceed until the roads were cleared for them, which was immediately done on application to the caciques. We continued our march by the districts of Silo, Suchiapa, and Coyumelapa, to those of Tecomayatacal and Ateapan; the chief town of which was extensive, closely built, and very populous. This place belonged to my *encomienda.* Near this town there was a large and deep river which it was necessary for us to pass, where we were opposed by the people of the vicinity with so much vigour that we had six soldiers wounded and three of our horses killed; but we put them to flight, and they withdrew into the woods and mountains, after setting fire to their town. We remained here five days, taking care of our wounded men; and as we had taken many of the women of this district, some of them were sent out to invite the natives to return and submit, with which they complied. Godoy was averse from the lenity shewn on this occasion, and insisted that these people ought to be punished for their revolt, or at least made to pay for the horses which they had slain. I happened to be of a different opinion; and as I spoke freely, Godoy became enraged and used very angry words, which I retorted. At length we proceeded to blows and drew our swords; and if we had not been parted one or other of us must have been killed, we were both so much enraged. Even as it was, several cuts were given and received on both sides, before we were separated. Marin was a good man and of a mild disposition, so that he restored every thing to these deluded people and left them in peace.

We continued our march through the other districts of Cimatlan and Talatiopan, where we were attacked by a numerous body of archers, by whom above twenty of our soldiers were wounded and two horses killed; but we very soon defeated them. These people were the most powerful archers I had yet seen, as they were able to drive their arrows through two suits of well quilted cotton armour; and their country is mostly

mostly composed of a marsh which quakes under foot. It was in vain therefore to think of pursuing the natives in such an impracticable country; and as they treated all our offers of peace with contempt, we judged it best to return to our colony of Coatzacualco; which we did through the districts of Guimango, Nacaxa, Xuica, Teotitlan, Copilco, and some others which I do not remember the names of, to Ulapa, and thence across the rivers Agaqualulco and Tonala to Coatzacualco, where the slain horses were paid for at the rate of a penny the pound.

SECTION XVIII.

Negociations of Cortes at the Court of Spain, in respect to the Conquest and Government of Mexico.

In the year 1521, the holy father Adrian de Lobayana, succeeded to the papacy, he being then governor of Castille and resident in the city of Vittoria, where our agents waited upon him to kiss the foot of his holiness. About the same time a great nobleman, named M. de la Soa, arrived from Germany, who was chamberlain to our emperor, and was sent by him to congratulate the new pope on his election. When this nobleman was informed of the heroic deeds of the conquerors of Mexico, and the great things they had performed for the extension of the holy faith, by the conversion and baptism of such myriads of Indians, he became interested in our behalf, and made application to his holiness to expedite the business of our agents. This was readily acceded to, as besides the allegations of our agents, the pope had received other complaints against the bishop of Burgos from persons of quality and honour. Our chief agents on this occasion were Francisco de Montejo, Diego de Ordas, Francisco Nunez cousin to our general, and his father Martin Cortes; who were countenanced by many powerful noblemen, and chiefly by the Duke of Bejar. Thus supported, they brought forward their charges against the bishop to good purpose. These were, that Velasquez had bribed the bishop by the gift of a considerable district in Cuba, the natives of which were made to work in the gold mines for his emolument, to the manifest injury of the royal revenue. That when, in 1517, 110 of us had sailed at our own expence under the command of

of Hernandez de Cordova for the discovery of New Spain, the bishop had falsely informed his majesty that it was done by Velasquez. That Velasquez had transmitted 20,000 crowns in gold, which had been procured by his nephew Juan de Grijalva on our second voyage, all of which was given to the bishop, and no part of it to his majesty to whom it belonged. That when Cortes sent home a large contribution in gold to his majesty, the bishop had suppressed our letters, substituting others, and ascribed the present to Velasquez, retaining half of the treasure to his own use; and, when Puertocarrera applied to him for permission to wait upon his majesty, the bishop had thrown him into prison, where he died. That the bishop had forbidden the officers of the *Casa de contratation* of Seville to give any assistance to Cortes, by which the public service had suffered manifest injury. That he had appointed very unfit persons to the military command in New Spain, as was particularly the case with regard to Christoval de Tapia, to whom he had given a commission as governor of New Spain, in order to bring about a marriage between his niece and Tapia. That he had given authenticity to the false accounts transmitted by the agents of Velasquez, suppressing the true relations which came from Cortes. There were many other charges against the bishop which he could not gainsay, as they were all substantiated by good evidence.

All these things being made clear to his holiness, he was pleased to order, that the bishop should have no longer any authority in regard to the affairs of New Spain, of which the government should be conferred on Cortes, and that Velasquez should be remunerated for all the expences he had incurred on account of the expedition, which he could duly substantiate. His holiness sent also to New Spain, a great number of indulgences for the hospitals and churches, and recommended to Cortes and the other conquerors to pay unremitting attention to the conversion of the Indians, and was pleased to send us his holy bulls of absolution. His majesty graciously confirmed all these orders of the pope, ordering Velasquez to be deprived of the government of Cuba, on account of having sent the expedition under Narvaez, in defiance of peremptory orders to the contrary from the royal audience of St Domingo, and the Jeronymite brethren. The bishop was so much affected by his disgrace on this occasion, that he fell dangerously ill.

About this time, Panfilo de Narvaez and Christoval de Tapia

Tapia arrived in Spain, together with the pilot Umbria and Cardenas, who by the instigation of the bishop of Burgos, preferred many severe accusations against Cortes to his majesty, in which they were gladly joined by the agents of Velasquez. They alleged, that Velasquez had fitted out three several expeditions for New Spain at vast expence, the last of which he had confided to Cortes, who broke his engagements and converted the armament to his own advantage. That when Velasquez sent Narvaez as governor of New Spain, with his majesties commission, Cortes made war upon him, defeated him and made him a prisoner. That when the bishop of Burgos sent Tapia to take the command of New Spain in the name of his majesty, Cortes refused obedience, and compelled him to re-embark. They also accused Cortes of having embezzled a great quantity of gold which he had obtained for his majesty; of taking a fifth of all the plunder to his own use; of having tortured Guatimotzin; of defrauding the soldiers of their shares; of making the natives of Mexico construct for his use magnificent palaces and castles as large as villages; of having poisoned Francisco de Garay, in order to get possession of his ships and troops, and many other charges of a similar nature. By command of his majesty, a court of inquiry was appointed from the privy council, to hear and determine upon these allegations, before which the following answers were given in. That Cordova was the real discoverer of New Spain, which had been done by him and his companions at their own cost. That although Velasquez had sent Juan de Grijalva on an expedition to New Spain, it was only for the purpose of trade, and not of colonization. That the principal charges had been expended by the different captains, and not by Velasquez, who had received the chief part of 20,000 crowns which these captains had collected. That Velasquez gave Indians in Cuba to the bishop of Burgos to collect gold for him, which ought to have belonged to his majesty. That although it was true Velasquez had sent Cortes to New Spain, his orders were only to barter; and the establishment he had made was entirely owing to the representations of his companions for the service of God and his majesty, and in no respect due to the instructions of Velasquez. That it was well known to all, that Cortes had reported the whole of his proceedings to his majesty, to whom he and his companions sent all the gold they could procure, waiting his majesties ultimate orders in the utmost humility; whereas the bishop

shop of Burgos suppressed his letters, and appropriated the gold to his own use, concealing our meritorious services from his majesty, preventing our agents from gaining access to the emperor, and even throwing one of them into prison, where he died; and that he prevented the royal officers from supplying us with such things as we needed, by which our enterprize had been much retarded. That all these things had been done by the bishop from corrupt motives, that he might give the government of Mexico to Velasquez or Tapia, in order that one of them might marry his *niece* Donna Petronilla de Fonseca, being anxious to make his *son-in-law* governor of that splendid kingdom. As for the expedition of Narvaez, our agents contended that Velasquez ought to suffer death for having sent it in direct disobedience of his majesties orders as communicated by the royal audience; and that he had behaved with high disrespect to his majesty, in making his application to the bishop of Burgos on this occasion. In support of all these accusations they offered to bring substantial proofs, and prayed the court to award punishment for these multiplied offences.

In reply to the accusations of Narvaez against Cortes, they represented, that Narvaez sent word to Montezuma on his arrival in Mexico, that he came to rescue him, by which he occasioned a dangerous war. That when Cortes desired to see his commission, and represented the necessity of an amicable junction of their forces for the good of the service, Narvaez would give no answer, but immediately declared war against Cortes and his companions, by which they were forced to defend themselves, and that Narvaez had even presumed to seize his majesties oydor, for which Cortes deemed it requisite to bring him to punishment. That when Cortes went to wait on Narvaez, that he might see his commission and remonstrate with him on his proceedings, Narvaez had attempted to make him prisoner by surprise, of which proof could be made by witnesses. As to the failure of Garay, and the ridiculous charge of having poisoned him; it was well known that the expedition under Garay had failed through his own misconduct and ignorance of the country; after which he had gladly accepted the friendly offers of Cortes, who had given him an hospitable reception in Mexico, where an alliance was agreed upon between their families, and Garay was to have been assisted in establishing a colony on the river Palmas; and finally, it was established beyond all doubt, by the oaths

of

of the physicians who attended him, that Garay had died of a pleurisy. In regard to the charge of retaining his majesties fifth, it was proved that Cortes had fairly expended it in the public service, together with 6000 crowns of his own property. That the fifth which he had retained for himself, was according to compact with the soldiers; and as to the shares belonging to the soldiers, it was well known that very little gold was found in Mexico on its capture, as almost all the wealth of the place had fallen into the hands of our allies of Tlascala and Tezcuco. That the torture given to Guatimotzin had been done by his majesties officers, contrary to the inclination of Cortes, in order to force a discovery of where the treasures of Montezuma had been concealed. As for the buildings, though certainly sumptuous, they were intended for the use of his majesty and his successors, and that the work had been carried on by the Indians, under the order of Guatimotzin, as was always done in building houses for the great in that country. As to Alonzo de Avila having taken the commission from Narvaez by force; it appeared there was no commission among his papers, which consisted entirely of receipts for the purchase of horses and the like; and farther, that these papers had been taken without any order from Cortes, who never saw any of them. As for Tapia, it was urged, that if he had come to Mexico and produced his majesties orders, they should have been received and obeyed by Cortes with the utmost humility: But that his incapacity was so notorious to every one then in New Spain, that it was the universal advice and desire of all that Cortes should retain the command. As to the pilot Umbria, whose feet had been cut off, this had been done in the due course of justice, for having run away with his ship. That Cardenas had consented along with all the rest to give up his share of the gold, that the whole might be sent to his majesty; and that Cortes had given him 300 crowns from his own pocket, which was more than he deserved, being a person of no consideration and no soldier.

The court having duly weighed all the charges and answers, the whole proceedings were reported to his majesty, together with their opinion and sentence, which were entirely in favour of Cortes, whose merit and valour, and that of all the veteran conquerors of Mexico, were highly praised. Velasquez was enjoined silence in respect to his complaints against Cortes, and was told that he might seek for the remuneration of

of his expences by a legal process. Cortes was declared governor-general of New Spain, pursuant to the orders of the pope, and the court approved of the arrangements which he had made in the country, authorizing him to distribute and appoint the districts or *repartimientos* in the way he thought proper. Narvaez was referred for redress to France, where Avila was still a prisoner. The pilots Umbria and Cardenas obtained royal grants of property in New Spain, to the extent of a thousand crowns in annual rent. And it was ordained that all the veterans of Cortes should have immediate and ample gratifications in lands and Indians, with such precedency in rank as their valour and services had deserved. This sentence was confirmed by the emperor at Valladolid, who was then on his road to Flanders; and he gave orders likewise for the banishment of all relapsed converts in New Spain, and that no *Scholars* [1] should be admitted into that country for a certain term of years. His majesty, and his brother the king of Hungary, were graciously pleased to write letters to Cortes, and to us the conquerors, thanking us for the good service we had performed.

This affair being decided in our favour, the necessary documents were entrusted to two relations of Cortes, Roderigo de Paz and Francisco de las Casas, who carried them in the first place to St Jago in the island of Cuba, where Velasquez resided. On the sentence being made known to him, and proclaimed by sound of trumpet, he fell ill from vexation, and died soon afterwards poor and miserable. Francisco de Montejo had the government of Yucutan and Cozumel from his majesty, with the title of Don. Diego de Ordas was ennobled, getting for his coat of arms the volcano of Guaxocingo, and was confirmed in all his possessions in New Spain. He went back to Spain two years afterwards to solicit permission to conquer the province of Maranion, in which enterprize he lost his life and all his property. On the arrival of Las Casas and De Paz in Mexico with the appointment of Cortes to the government, there were great rejoicings everywhere. Las Casas was made a captain, and got the *encomienda* of a good district called Anquitlan; and De Paz was appointed major-domo and secretary to Cortes, getting

1 This probably alludes to *lawyers,* as on a former occasion, Diaz mentions a request from the Spaniards that none of that fraternity might be sent over to New Spain, probably to avoid the introduction of litigious law suits. --E.

getting likewise valuable possessions. Cortes liberally rewarded the captain of the vessel which brought out this pleasing information, and provided handsomely for all who came out to New Spain from his native country of Medellin. All the proceedings of our agents in Spain were regularly conveyed to us the conquerors; but it seemed to me that they agented solely for Cortes and themselves, as we who had raised Cortes to his greatness, were continually encountering dangers and hardships, without any reward. May God protect us, and inspire our great emperor to cause his just intentions towards us to be carried into effect. To us, the ancient, wise, and brave conquerors of Mexico, it appeared that Cortes ought to have duly considered his true friends, who had supported him from the first through all his difficulties and dangers, and ought to have rewarded us according to our respective merits, and his majesties orders, by giving us good and profitable situations, instead of leaving us poor and miserable. By his majesties orders, and by his duty, Cortes was bound to have given to us and our children all the good offices in the kingdom of New Spain; but he thought only of himself and his favourites. In our opinion, who were the conquerors, the whole country ought to have been divided into five equal parts, allotting one to the crown, another for the holy church, and the remaining three parts to Cortes and the rest of us, who were the true original conquerors, giving each a share in perpetuity in proportion to our rank and merits, considering that we had not only served his majesty in gratuity, but without his knowledge, and almost against his will. This arrangement would have placed us at our ease; instead of which, many of us are wandering about, almost without a morsel to eat, and God only knows what may become of our children.

To the veedor Pedro Alonzo Chirinos, Gonzalo Salazar the factor, Rodrigo Albornos the contador, and many others who came now from Spain, and to the dependents of great men, who flattered him and told him fine tales, Cortes refused nothing; but he treated us the true conquerors like vassals, forgetting us entirely in the distribution of property, yet never failing to call upon us when he wanted our assistance, as if we had been fit only for expeditions and battles. I do not blame him for being generous, as there was enough for all; but he ought in the first place to have considered those who had served his majesty in the conquest of this noble

noble kingdom, and to whose blood and valour he was indebted for his own elevation. Long afterwards, when Luis Ponce de Leon came out to supersede Cortes, we the veteran conquerors represented to our general that he ought to give us that property which he had been ordered by his majesty to resign. He expressed his sorrow for having so long neglected us, and promised even with an oath, that he would provide for us all, if he returned to his government, thinking to satisfy us with smooth words and empty promises.

SECTION XIX.

Of an Expedition against the Zapotecas, and various other Occurrences.

INTELLIGENCE was brought to Mexico that the Zapotecas were in rebellion, on which Rodrigo Rangel, whom I have several times mentioned already, solicited Cortes to be appointed to the command of an expedition for their reduction, that he too might have an opportunity of acquiring fame, proposing likewise to take Pedro de Ircio along with him as his lieutenant and adviser. Cortes knew well that Rangel was very unfit for any service of danger or difficulty, being a miserably diseased object, the effect of his sins, and put him off therefore by various excuses; but as he was a very slanderous fellow, whom he wished to get rid of, he at length agreed to his proposal, and at the same time wrote for ten or twelve veterans, then residing in Coatzacualco, of whom I was one, desiring us to accompany Rangel on this expedition. The country of the Zapotecas is composed of high and rugged mountains, always enveloped in clouds and mists, with such narrow and bad roads as to be unfit for cavalry, so steep that they must be climbed up like ladders, each successive soldier of the file having his head at the heels of the man immediately before him. The natives of these mountains are light and active, and have a way of whistling and shouting, so as to make the hills resound again, insomuch that it is hardly possible to know on which side they are coming to attack. Against such enemies in so strong a country, and with such a leader, it was impossible for us to effect any thing. We advanced, however, under heavy rain, to a scattered village, part of the houses being situated

situated on a rocky ridge, and the rest in a valley, and well it was for us that the Indians made no stand, as poor Rangel whined and moaned the whole way, complaining of pains in his limbs, and the severity of the weather. It was at last agreed, as he grew every day worse and worse, that we could be of no use here, and were exposing ourselves needlessly to danger, to abandon this fruitless expedition, and return to our homes. Pedro de Ircio was among the first who advised this, and soon set the example, by retiring to his own town of Villa Rica; but Rangel chose rather to go along with us to Coatzacualco, to our great dissatisfaction, as he expected benefit from that warm climate to relieve him of his pains.

We were hardly returned to Coatzacualco, when Rangel took it into his head to go upon an expedition against the Indians of Cimatan and Tatupan, who continued in rebellion, confiding in the impracticability of their country, among large rivers and trembling marshes; being also very formidable warriors, who used very long bows of great strength. We were all very averse from this, but as Rangel produced his commission from Cortes, we were under the necessity to obey, and accordingly set out on the expedition, with about 100 horse and foot. We soon arrived at a pass among lakes and marshes, where the Indians had thrown up a strong circular entrenchment of large trees and pallisades, having loop-holes to shoot through, and where they gave us a very warm reception with a flight of darts and arrows, by which they killed seven horses, and wounded Rangel and eight of our men. We had often told him what stout warriors these Indians were, and he now declared that in future the old conquerors should command him, and not he us, for he would not have been now in such jeopardy if he had listened to our advice. When our wounded men and horses were dressed, he requested me to go forward to reconnoitre, on which I took two comrades, and a fierce dog belonging to Rangel, desiring the infantry to follow close behind, but that Rangel and the cavalry might keep at a good distance in the rear. In this order we pursued our march for Cimatan, and soon fell in with another post, fortified like the former, and as strongly defended, whence the Indians assailed us with a shower of arrows, which killed the dog, and wounded us all three. On this occasion I received a wound in my leg, and had seven arrows sticking in my cotton armour. I im-

mediately

mediately called to some of our Indian auxiliaries, who were a little way behind, to desire all the infantry to come up immediately, but that all the cavalry must remain behind, as otherwise they would certainly lose their horses. We soon drove the Indians from their entrenchments; but they took refuge among the marshes, where we could not pursue them without running the risk of sinking at every step.

Having passed the night at an Indian village, we proceeded forwards next day, when we were opposed by a body of Indians posted in a marsh on the border of an open plain. In spite of every thing we could say, Rangel made a charge upon them with his cavalry, and was the first to tumble head foremost into the marsh, where the Indians closed in upon him, in hope of taking him alive for sacrifice. By great exertions we rescued him from their hands, half drowned and badly wounded. The country being very populous, we very soon found a village which the natives had abandoned, where we went for the purpose of refreshment, and to dress our wounded men: But had hardly been there a quarter of an hour, when the enemy attacked us with such violence, that we had much ado to repel them, after they had killed one of our men and two horses. Poor Rangel complained grievously of his wounds and bruises, and was so infested by mosquitoes and other vermin, which abound greatly in that country, that he could not rest either day or night. He, and some of the soldiers who had belonged to Garay that accompanied him, grew very sick of their expedition, in which nothing had been got except three hard fought battles, in which eleven horses and two soldiers had been slain, and many others wounded, on which account they were very desirous to get home again; yet Rangel was averse from having it appear that a retreat was his choice, and got, therefore, a council of those who were of his own opinion to propose that measure. At this time, I and about twenty more had gone out to try if we could make any prisoners, and had taken five among some gardens and plantations near the village. On my return, Rangel called me aside, and informed me that his council had determined on a retreat, and desired me to persuade the rest of the detachment to come into that opinion. "How, Sir," said I, "can you think of a retreat? What will Cortes and the world say of you, when they hear of your retreating in two successive expeditions, without having done any thing?

You

You cannot surely return without disgrace, till you have reached the head town of these Indians. I will go forward on foot with the infantry to reconnoitre: Give my horse to another soldier, and you may follow in the rear with the cavalry." "You give good advice, said Rangel, and we will march on." This was done accordingly, to the great regret of many of our companions, and we advanced in good order to Cimatan, the principal town of the district, where we were saluted as usual by a shower of arrows. We entered the town, however, which was abandoned by the enemy, yet took several prisoners, whom I dismissed, with an invitation to the chiefs to come in and make peace with us; but they never returned. Rangel was very angry at me on this account, and swore that he would make me procure Indians for him, in place of those whom I had liberated. To pacify him, I went among the neighbouring marshes with thirty soldiers, where we picked up several stragglers, whom we brought to him. But he dismissed these likewise, in hopes to induce the rest to submit, yet all to no purpose. Thus ended the two famous expeditions against the Zapotecans and Cimatanese, and such was all the fame acquired by Rangel in the wars of New Spain. Two years afterwards, we effected the conquest of both these countries, the natives of which were converted to our holy religion, by the grace of God, and through the exertions of Father Olmedo, now grown weak and infirm, to the great regret of all who knew him, as he was an excellent minister of the gospel.

Cortes had now collected 80,000 crowns in gold, and had caused a superb golden culverin to be made as a present for the emperor, on which the following motto was engraved:

Esta ave nacio sin par: Yo en servir os sin segundo;
Y vos sin iqual en el Mundo [1].

This sumptuous present was sent over to Spain under the care of Diego de Soto. I am uncertain whether Juan de Ribera, who had been secretary to Cortes went over at the same time with Soto; but I know that he carried over a sum of money for the generals father, which he appropriated to his own use; and, unmindful of the many obligations he had received,

1 Like the solitary Phœnix, I, without a peer, serve you, who have no equal in the world.

received, he reported much evil of Cortes, combining with the bishop of Burgos and others to injure him. I always thought him a bad man, from what I had observed of him when engaged in gaming, and many other circumstances: But, as he was of a fluent speech, and had been secretary to Cortes, he did him much harm, and would have injured him much more, if it had not been for the interest of the Duke of Bejar, who protected Cortes, who was then engaged in a treaty of marriage with the dukes niece, Donna Juana de Zuniga[2]. By this interest, and combined with the magnificent present brought over by Soto, the affairs of Cortes at the court of Spain took a favourable turn. The golden Phoenix with its motto, gave great offence to many, who thought it presumptuous in Cortes to insinuate that he had no equal in his services: But his friends justly defended him, observing that no one had so far extended the fame and power of his majesty, or had brought so many thousand souls under the dominion of the holy catholic church as he had done. Neither did they forget the merits of us his associates, truly declaring that we were entitled to honours and emoluments, which we had as justly earned as the original nobles of Castille, whose estates and honours were now enjoyed by their descendents. The culverin went no farther than Seville, as his majesty was graciously pleased to give it to Don Francisco de los Cobos, commendator-major of Leon, who melted it down. Its value was 20,000 ducats. Martin Cortes, our generals father, brought a suit against Ribera for the money of which he had defrauded him; and while that was pending, Ribera died suddenly while at dinner, and without confession. May God pardon his sins! *Amen.*

Cortes continued to rebuild and embellish the city of Mexico, which was again as well peopled by natives as ever it had been before the conquest. All of these were exempted from paying tribute to his majesty, till their houses were built, and till

2 In Clavigero, at the close of Vol. I. this lady is named Donna Jeroma Ramirez de Arrellano y Zuniga, daughter of Don Carlos Ramiro de Arellano, Count of Auguiller, by Donna Jeroma de Zuniga, a daughter of the Count of Benares, eldest son of Don Alvaro de Zuniga, duke of Bejar. After two male descents from this marriage, the Marquisate of the Valley of Oaxaca, and the great estates of Cortes in New Spain, fell, by various collateral female descents, to the Neapolitan family of Pignatelli, duke of Montelione and Terranova, marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, Grandee of Spain, and prince of the Roman empire.—E.

till the causeways, bridges, public edifices, and aqueducts, were all restored. In that quarter of the city appropriated to the Spaniards, churches and hospitals were erected under the superintendence of Father Olmedo, as vicar and superior; who likewise established an hospital for the natives, to whom he paid particular attention. In compliance with our petition, formerly mentioned, the general of the Franciscans sent over twelve of his order, under the vicarage of Father Martin de Valentia. Among these came Father Torribio de Motolinea, which name, signifying *poor brother*, he acquired from the Mexicans, because all that he received in charity he gave away in the same manner, going always barefooted in a tattered habit, preaching to the natives, and often in want of food. When Cortes learnt that these reverend fathers were arrived at Villa Rica, he ordered the road to Mexico to be repaired, and to have houses built at proper intervals for their accommodation; commanding the inhabitants of all the towns in the way to meet them with the utmost reverence, ringing their bells, bearing crucifixes and lighted wax-candles, and that all the Spaniards should kneel down and kiss their hands. On their approach to Mexico, Cortes went out to meet them, and dismounting from his horse, kneeled down to kiss the hands of the vicar. The natives were astonished to see so much honour conferred on these reverend fathers in tattered garments and bare feet, and considering them as gods, they all followed the example of the general, and have ever since behaved to them with the utmost reverence.

About this time, Cortes informed his majesty of his proceedings with regard to the conversion of the natives, and rebuilding the city of Mexico; and also of the conduct of De Oli, whom he had sent to reduce the province of Higueras, but who had deserted and joined the party of Velasquez, on which account he had resolved to send a force to reduce him to obedience. He complained also of the proceedings of Velasquez, to the great injury of his majesties service, and of the partiality which had been shewn by the bishop of Burgos. At this time likewise, he remitted 30,000 crowns in gold to the royal treasury, lamenting the injurious effects of the proceedings of Velasquez and the bishop, which had prevented him from making a much larger contribution. He complained also against the contador, Rodrigo de Albornos, who had aspersed him from private pique, because he had refused to give him in marriage the daughter of the prince of Tezcuco; and that he understood

stood Albornos corresponded in cyphers with the bishop of Burgos. Cortes had not yet learnt that the bishop was removed from the management of the affairs of the Indies. By the same ship, Albornos sent home accusations against Cortes; charging him with the levy of exorbitant contributions in gold for his own use; fortifying castles to defend himself, and marrying his private soldiers to the daughters of the native lords: insinuating that Cortes was endeavouring to set himself up as an independent king, and that it was highly necessary to send out an able officer with a great force to supersede him. The bishop of Burgos laid these letters before the whole junto of the enemies of Cortes, who immediately produced this new accusation to the emperor, complaining of the partial favour which had been shewn him on former occasions. Deceived by these misrepresentations, which were enforced by Narvaez, his majesty issued an order to the admiral of Hispaniola, to go with six hundred soldiers to arrest Cortes, and to make him answer with his head if found guilty; as also to punish all of us who had been concerned in attacking Narvaez. As an encouragement, this officer was promised the admiralty of New Spain, the right to which was then under litigation. Either from want of money, or because he was afraid of committing himself against so able and successful a commander, the admiral delayed his expedition so long, that the friends and agents of Cortes had time to make a full explanation of all the circumstances to the Duke of Bejar, who immediately represented a true statement of the case to the emperor, and offered to pledge his own life in security for the loyalty of Cortes. Being on due consideration quite satisfied of the justice of our cause, his majesty determined to send out a person of high quality and good character to hold a supreme court of justice in New Spain. The person chosen for this purpose was Luis Ponce de Leon, cousin to Don Martin, Count of Cordova; whom his majesty entrusted to inquire into the conduct of Cortes, with full power to inflict capital punishment if guilty. But it was two years and a half before this gentleman arrived in New Spain.

I now go beyond the date of my narrative to inform my readers of a circumstance which happened during the viceroyalty of that illustrious nobleman, Don Antonio de Mendoza, worthy of eternal memory and heavenly glory for his wise and just government. Albornos wrote malignant and slanderous letters against him, as he had before done of Cortes, which

which letters were all sent back from Spain to Don Antonio. When he had read all the gross abuse which they contained, he sent for Albornos, to whom he shewed his own letters; saying mildly, in his usual slow manner, "When you are pleased to make me the subject of your letters to his majesty, remember always in future to tell the truth."

SECTION XX.

Narrative of the Expedition of Cortes to Higueras.

I HAVE formerly mentioned the revolt of De Oli. Cortes was much distressed on receiving this intelligence, and immediately sent off his relation, Francisco de las Casas, with five ships and a hundred well appointed soldiers, among whom were some of the veteran conquerors of Mexico, with orders to reduce De Oli. Las Casas soon arrived at the bay of Triumpho de la Cruz, where De Oli had established his head-quarters; and though Las Casas hoisted a signal of peace, De Oli determined on resistance, and sent a number of soldiers in two armed vessels to oppose Las Casas, who ordered out his boats armed with swivels and musquetry to attack those belonging to De Oli. In this affair Las Casas was successful, as he sunk one of the vessels belonging to De Oli, killed four of his soldiers, and wounded a great number. On this misfortune, and because a considerable number of his soldiers were on a detached service in the inland country, for the purpose of reducing a party of Spaniards under Gil Gonzalez de Avila, who was employed in making conquests on the river Pechin, De Oli thought it advisable to propose terms of peace to Las Casas, in hopes that his detachment might return to his assistance. Las Casas unfortunately agreed to treat, and remained at sea; partly for the purpose of finding some better place of disembarkation, and partly induced by letters from the friends of Cortes who were along with De Oli. That same night a heavy storm arose, by which the vessels of Las Casas were driven on shore and utterly lost, and above thirty of the soldiers perished. All the rest were made prisoners two days afterwards, having been all that time on shore without food, and almost perished with cold, as it was the season of almost incessant rain. De Oli obliged all

all his prisoners to swear fidelity to him against Cortes, and then released them all except Las Casas.

The party which he sent against De Avila returned about this time, having been successful in their errand. Avila had gone with a party to reduce the country about the *Golfe Dolce*, and had founded a settlement to which he gave the name of *St Gil de buena vista;* and the troops sent against him, after killing his nephew and eight of his soldiers, made himself and all the rest prisoners. De Oli was now much elated by his success, in having made two captains belonging to Cortes prisoners, and sent off a full account of his exploits to his friend Velasquez. He afterwards marched up the country to a place called Naco in a very populous district, which is all now laid waste. While here, he sent off various detachments in different directions, among which one was commanded by Briones, who had first instigated him to revolt; but Briones now revolted from him in his turn, and marched off with all his men for New Spain. He was a seditious fellow, who had on some former occasion had the lower part of his ears cut off, which he used to say had been done for refusing to surrender in some fortress or other. He was afterwards hanged at Guatimala for mutiny.

De Oli was personally brave but imprudent, and permitted Las Casas and Avila to be at large, disdaining to be under any apprehensions from them; but they concerted a plan with some of the soldiers for putting him to death. Las Casas one day asked him, as if half in jest, for liberty to return to Cortes; but De Oli said he was too happy to have the company of so brave a man, and could not part with him. "Then," said Las Casas, "I advise you to take care of me, for I shall kill you one of these days". De Oli considered this as a joke, but measures were actually concerted for the purpose; and one night after supper, when the servants and pages had withdrawn to their own apartment, Las Casas, Avila, Juan de Mercado, and some other soldiers attached to Cortes, suddenly drew out their penknives and fell upon De Oli. Las Casas seized him by the beard, and made a cut at his throat, and the rest gave him several wounds; but being strong and active, he escaped from their hands, calling loudly to his people for assistance, but they were all too busy at their suppers to hear him. He then fled and concealed himself among some bushes, calling out for assistance, and many of his people turned out for that purpose; but Las Casas called upon them to rally on the side of the king and his general

general Cortes, which after some hesitation they consented to. De Oli was made prisoner by the two captains, who shortly afterwards sentenced him to be beheaded, which was carried into execution in the town of Naco. He was a brave man, but of no foresight, and thus paid with his life for following evil counsels. He had received many favours from Cortes, having valuable estates, and the commission of *Maestre de Campo*. His lady, Donna Philippa de Aranja, was a Portuguese, by whom he had one daughter. Las Casas and Avila now joined their troops together, and acted in concert as captains under Cortes. Las Casas colonized Truzilo in New Estremadura. Avila sent orders to his lieutenant in Buena Vista to remain in charge of that establishment, promising to send him a reinforcement as soon as possible, for which purpose he meant to go to Mexico.

Some months after the departure of Las Casas, Cortes became afraid of some disaster, and repented that he had not gone himself on the expedition, and now resolved to go himself, that he might examine the state of the country and the mines it was said to contain. He left a good garrison in Mexico, and appointed Alonzo de Estrada and Albornos, the treasurer and contador, to carry on the government in his absence, with strict injunctions to pay every attention to the interest of his majesty, and recommended to Motolinca and Olmedo to labour incessantly in converting the natives. On purpose to deprive the Mexicans of chiefs during his absence, he took along with him Guatimotzin the late king of Mexico, the prince of Tacuba, an Indian now named Velasquez, who had been a captain under Guatimotzin, and several other caciques of consequence. We had along with us Fra Juan de las Varillas, and several other good theologians to preach to the Indians, as also the captains Sandoval and Marin and many other cavaliers. On this occasion, Cortes, was attended by a splendid personal suit; such as a steward, paymaster, keeper of the plate, a major-domo, two stewards of the household, a butler, confectioner, physician, surgeon a number of pages, among whom was Francisco de Montejo, who was afterwards captain in Yutucan, two armour-bearers, eight grooms, two falconers, five musicians, a stage-dancer, a juggler and puppet-master, a master of the horse, and three Spanish muleteers. A great service of gold and silver plate accompanied the march, and a large drove of swine for the use of the table. Three thousand Mexican warriors attend-

ed their own chiefs, and a numerous train of domestic servants.

When about to set out, the factor Salazar and veedor Chirinos, remonstrated with Cortes on the danger of leaving the seat of government; but finding him determined, they asked permission to accompany him to Coatzacualco, which he agreed to. Cortes was received in all the places on his way with much pomp and many rejoicings; and above fifty soldiers and straggling travellers newly arrived from Spain, joined us on the road. During the march to Coatzacualco, Cortes divided his troops into two detachments, for the convenience of quarters and provisions. While on the march, a marriage took place at the town of Ojeda near Orizava, between our linguist Donna Marina and Juan Xaramillo. As soon as the advance of Cortes to Guazpaltepec in the district of Sandoval was known at Coatzacualco, all the Spaniards of that settlement went above thirty leagues to meet him; in so much respect and awe was he held by us all. In proceeding beyond Guazpaltepec fortune began to frown upon us, as in passing a large river three of our canoes overset, by which some plate and other valuables were lost, and nothing could be recovered as the river swarmed with alligators. At Coatzacualco three hundred canoes were prepared for crossing the river, fastened two and two together to prevent oversetting, and we were here received under triumphal arches, with various festivities, such as mock skirmishes between Christians and Moors, fireworks, and the like. Cortes remained six days at Coatzacualco, where the factor and veedor prevailed on Cortes to give them a commission to assume the government of Mexico in case they should judge that the present deputies failed in their duty. This measure occasioned much trouble afterwards in Mexico, as I shall explain hereafter; but these two associates took their leaves at this place, with much pretended tenderness and affection for the general, even affecting to sob and cry at parting.

From Coatzacualco, Cortes sent orders to Simon de Cucena, one of his major-domos, to freight two light vessels at Villa Rica with biscuit made of maize flour, as there was then no wheat in Mexico, wine, oil, vinegar, pork, iron, and other necessaries, and to proceed with them along the coast till he had farther directions. Cortes now gave orders for all the settlers of Coatzacualco who were fit for duty, to join the expedition,

pedition. This was a severe disappointment to us, as our colony was composed of most of the respectable hidalgos, the veteran conquerors, who expected to have been allowed to enjoy our hard earned houses and lands in peace, instead of which we were obliged to undertake an arduous expedition of five hundred leagues, which took us up above two years and a half of infinite fatigues. We had nothing for it but compliance, so that we armed ourselves and mounted our horses; being in all above 250 veterans, 130 of whom were cavalry, besides many soldiers newly arrived from Old Spain. I was immediately dispatched at the head of 30 Spaniards and 3000 Mexicans, to reduce the district of Cimatan, which was then in rebellion. My orders were, if I found the natives submissive, I was merely to quarter my troops on the natives, and do them no farther injury. But, if refractory, they were to be summoned three times in presence of a royal notary and proper witnesses, after which, if they still persisted in rebellion, I was to make war on them and compel them to submit. The people received me in a peaceable manner, for which reason I marched on with my detachment to rejoin Cortes at Iquinapa. In consequence of the veterans being withdrawn from Coatzacualco, these people revolted again in a few months after. After I left him, the general proceeded with the rest of his troops to Tonala, crossing the river Aquacualco, and another river seven leagues from an arm of the sea, by a bridge a quarter of a league in length, which was constructed by the natives under the direction of two Spanish settlers of Coatzacualco. The army then proceeded to the large river Mazapa, called by seamen *Rio de dos bocas*, or Two-mouth river, which flows past Chiapa. Crossing this by means of double canoes, they proceeded through several villages to Iquinapa, where my detachment rejoined the army. Crossing another river and an arm of the sea, on wooden bridges, we came to a large town named Copilco, where the province of Chontalpa begins; a populous district, full of plantations of cacoa, which we found perfectly peaceable. From thence we marched by Nicaxuxica and Zagutan, passing another river, in which the general lost some part of his baggage. We found Zagutan in peace, yet the inhabitants fled during the night; on which Cortes ordered parties out into the woods to make prisoners. Seven chiefs and some others were taken, but they all escaped from us again in the night, and left us without guides. At this

this place fifty canoes arrived at our quarters from Tabasco, loaded with provisions, and some also from Teapan, a place in my encomienda.

From Zagutan, we continued our march to Tepetitan, crossing a large river called Chilapa, where we were detained four days making barks. I here proposed sending five of our Indian guides to a town of the same name, which I understood was on the banks of this river, in order to desire the inhabitants to send their canoes to our assistance; which was accordingly done, and they sent us six large canoes and some provisions: Yet with all the aid we could procure, it took us four days to pass this river. From thence we went to Tepetitan, which was depopulated and burnt in consequence of a civil war. For three days of our march from the river Chilapa, our horses were almost constantly up to their bellies in the marshy grounds, and when we reached a place called Iztapa, it was found abandoned by the inhabitants; but several chiefs and others were brought in, who were treated kindly, and made the general some trifling presents of gold. As this place abounded in corn and grass, we halted three days to refresh the men and horses, and it was considered by Cortes as a good situation for a colony, being surrounded by a number of towns, which might serve as dependencies. Cortes received information from some travelling merchants at this place concerning the country he had to pass through, produced to them a map painted on cloth, representing the road to *Huy-Acala*, which signifies *great* Acala, there being another place of the same name. According to them, the way was much intersected by rivers, as, to reach a place named Tamaztepec, three days journey from Iztapa, there were three rivers and an arm of the sea to cross. In consequence of this intelligence, the general sent orders to the chiefs to provide canoes and construct bridges at the proper places, but neither of these things were done. Instead of three days, our march occupied us for a whole week; but the natives succeeded in getting quit of us, and we set out with only provisions of roasted maize and roots for three days, so that we were reduced to great straits, having nothing to eat but a wild plant called *quexquexque*, which inflamed our mouths. We were obliged to construct bridges of timber, at which every one had to labour from the general downwards; which detained us for three days. When we had crossed the last inlet, we were obliged to open a way through the woods with

with infinite labour, and after toiling in this manner for two days we were almost in despair. The trees were so thick that we could not see the sun; and on climbing to the top of one of the trees, we could not discover any thing but a continuation of the same impervious forest. Two of our guides had fled, and the only one who remained was utterly ignorant of the country. The resources of Cortes were quite inexhaustible, as he guided our way by a mariners compass, assisted by his Indian map, according to which the town of *Huy-acala* of which we were in search, lay to the east; but even he acknowledged that he knew not what might become of us, if we were one day longer of finding it out.

We who were of the advanced guard fortunately at this time fell in with the remains of some trees which had been formerly cut, and a small lane or path, which seemed to lead towards a town or village. The pilot Lopez and I returned to the main body with intelligence of this happy discovery, which revived the spirits of our whole army. We accordingly made all possible haste in that direction, and soon came to a river, on the opposite side of which we found a village named Tamaztepec, where, though abandoned by the inhabitants, we found plenty of provisions for ourselves and horses. Parties were immediately sent out in search of the natives, who soon brought back many chiefs and priests who were well treated, and both supplied us plentifully with provisions, and pointed out our road to Izguantepec, which was three days journey, or sixteen leagues from the town where we now were. During our journey to this place, our stage-dancer and three of the new come Spaniards died of fatigue, and many of the Mexicans had been left behind to perish. We discovered likewise that some of the Mexican chiefs who accompanied us, had seized some of the natives of the places through which we passed, and had eaten them to appease their hunger. Cortes very severely reprimanded all who had been concerned in this barbarous deed, and one of our friars preached a holy sermon on the occasion; after which, as an example to deter our allies from this practice in future, the general caused one against whom this crime had been most clearly proved, to be burnt. All had been equally guilty, but one example was deemed sufficient on the present occasion. Our poor musicians felt severely the want of the feasts they had been used to in Spain, and their harmony was now stopt, except one fellow; but the soldiers used to curse him, saying

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they wanted maize not music. It may be asked, how we did not lay our hands on the herd of swine belonging to Cortes in our present state of starvation? But these were out of sight, and the steward alleged they had been devoured by the alligators on passing one of the rivers: In reality, they were artfully kept four days march behind the army. During our route, we used to carve crosses on the bark of trees, with inscriptions bearing, that Cortes and his army had passed this way at such and such a time.

The Indians of Tamaztepec sent a message to Izguantepec, our next station, to inform the inhabitants, and that they might not be alarmed at our approach: They also deputed twenty of their number to attend us to that place as guides. After our arrival at Izguantepec, Cortes was curious to know the course of a large river which flowed past that place, and was informed that it discharged itself into the sea near two towns named Guegatasta and Xicolanga; from which he judged that this might be a convenient way in which to send for information concerning his ships under Cuença whom he had ordered to wait his orders on that part of the coast. He accordly sent off two Spaniards on that errand, to one of whom, Francisco de Medina, he gave an order to act as joint commander along with Simon Cuença. Medina was a man of dilligence and abilities, and well acquainted with the country; but the commission he carried proved most unfortunate in its consequences. He found the ships waiting at Xicolanga, and on presenting his authority as joint captain, a dispute arose between him and Cuença as to which of them should have the chief command. Each was supported by a party, and had recourse to arms, in which all the Spaniards were slain except eight. The neighbouring Indians fell upon the survivors, and put them all to death; after which they plundered the ships and then destroyed them. It was two years and a half after this, before we knew what had become of the ships.

We now learnt that the town of Huy-acala was three days march distant from our present quarters, and that the way lay across some deep rivers and trembling marshes. Two soldiers were sent on by Cortes to examine the route, who reported on their return that the rivers were passable by means of timber bridges, but as for the marshes, which were more material to know, they were beyond the rivers and had not been examined. Cortes sent me in the next place, along with one Gonzalo de Mexia and some Indian guides, with orders

to

to go forward to Huy-acala to procure provisions, with which we were to meet him on the road. But our guides deserted us the first night, on account of the two nations being at war, and we were forced to rely entirely on ourselves for the remainder of the journey. On our arrival at the first town belonging to the district of Huy-acala, which has the supreme command over twenty other towns, the inhabitants seemed very jealous of us at first, but were soon reconciled. This district is much intersected by rivers, lakes, and marshes, and some of the dependent towns are situated in islands, the general communication being by means of canoes. We invited the chiefs to accompany us back to Cortes; but they declined this, because their nation was at war with the people of Izguantepec. It would appear that at our arrival they had no idea of the force of our army under Cortes; but, having received more accurate intelligence concerning it next day, they treated us with much deference, and promised that they would provide every accommodation for our army on its arrival. While still conversing, two other Spaniards came up to me with letters from Cortes, in which he ordered me to meet him within three days with all the provisions I could possibly collect; as the Indians of Izguantepec had all deserted him, and he was now on his march for Huy-acala entirely destitute of necessaries. These Spaniards also informed me, that four soldiers who had been detached farther up the river had not returned, and were supposed to have been murdered, which we learnt afterwards was the case. In pursuing his march, Cortes had been four days occupied in constructing a bridge over the great river, during which time the army suffered excessive famine, as they had come from their last quarters without provisions, owing to the desertion of the natives. Some of the old soldiers cut down certain trees resembling palms, by which means they procured nuts which they roasted and eat; but this proved a miserable recourse for so great a number. On the night that the bridge was completed, I arrived with 130 loads of provisions, consisting of corn, honey, fruit, salt, and fowls. It was then dark, and Cortes had mentioned his expectation of my arrival with provisions, in consequence of which the soldiers waited for me and seized every thing I had, not leaving any thing for Cortes and the other officers. It was all in vain that the major-domo cried out, "this is for the general;" for the soldiers said the general and his officers had been eating their hogs, while they were starving,

starving, and neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on them to leave him a single load of corn. Cortes lost all patience, and swore he would punish those who had seized the provisions and spoken about the hogs; but he soon saw that it was better to be quiet. He then blamed me; but I told him he ought to have placed a guard to receive the provisions, as hunger knows no law. Seeing there was no remedy, Cortes, who was accompanied by Sandoval, addressed me as follows: "My dear friend, I am sure you must have something in reserve for yourself and your friend Sandoval, pray take us along with you that we may partake." Sandoval also assured me that he had not a single handful of maize. "Well," said I, "gentlemen, come to me when the soldiers are asleep, and you shall partake of what I had provided for myself and my companions." They both thanked and embraced me, and so we escaped famine for this bout, as I had with me twelve loads of maize, twenty fowls, three jars of honey, and some fruit and salt. Cortes made inquiry as to how the reverend fathers had fared; but they were well off, as every soldier gave them a share of what they had procured. Such are the hardships of military expeditions in unexplored countries. Feared as he was by the soldiers, our general was pillaged of his provisions, and in danger of starving, and both he and captain Sandoval were indebted to me for their rations.

On continuing our march from the river for about a league, we came to the trembling marshes, where our horses had all been nearly destroyed; but the distance across did not exceed half a bowshot, between the firm ground on either side, and we got them through by main force. When we were all safe over, and had given thanks to God for our safety, Cortes sent on to Huy-acala for a fresh supply of provisions, and took care not to have these plundered like the former; and on the ensuing day, our whole army arrived early at Huy-acala, where the chiefs had made ample preparation for our reception. Having used every proper means to conciliate the chiefs of this nation, Cortes inquired from them as to the country we had still to march through, and whether they had heard of any ships being on the coast, or of any Europeans being settled in the country. He was informed, that at the distance of eight days journey, there were many men having beards like ourselves, who had horses and three ships. They also gave the general a map of the route, and offered every as-

sistance in their power; but when asked to clear the road, they represented that some of their dependent districts had revolted, and requested our assistance to reduce them to obedience. This duty was committed to Diego de Mazariegos, a relation of the treasurer de Estrada, as a compliment to him, and Cortes desired me in private to accompany him as his counsellor, being experienced in the affairs of this country. I do not mention this circumstance, which is known to the whole army, by way of boast, but as my duty of historian requires it of me, and indeed his majesty was informed of it, in the letters which were written to him by Cortes. About eighty of us went on this occasion along with Mazariegos, and had the good fortune to find the district in the best disposition. The chiefs returned with us to Cortes, and brought a most abundant supply of provisions along with them. In about four days, however, all the chiefs deserted us, and we were left with only three guides to pursue our march as well as we could. After crossing two rivers, we came to another town in the district of Huy-acala, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, but in which we took up our quarters.

In this place, Guatimotzin, the last king of the Mexicans, closed his unhappy career. It appeared that a plot had been concerted by this unfortunate monarch with many of the Mexican nobles who accompanied him, to endeavour to cut off the Spaniards; after which they proposed to make the best of their way back to Mexico, where, collecting all the forces of the natives, they hoped to be able to overpower the Spanish garrison. This conspiracy was revealed to Cortes by two Mexican nobles who had commanded under Guatimotzin during the siege, and who had been baptized by the names of Tapia and Velasquez. On receiving this intelligence, Cortes immediately took the judicial informations of these two and of several others who were concerned in the plot; from which it was learnt, that the Mexicans, observing that we marched in a careless manner, that discontent prevailed among our troops, many of whom were sick, that ten of our Spanish soldiers had died of hunger, and several had returned towards Mexico, and considering also the uncertainty of the fate of the expedition and the miseries they endured from scarcity of provisions, they had come to the resolution of falling upon us at the passage of some river or marsh, being encouraged by their numbers, which exceeded 3000 well armed men, and thinking it preferable to die at once than to

encounter

encounter the perpetual miseries they now endured by accompanying us in this wilderness. Guatimotzin acknowledged that he had heard of this proposal, which he never approved of, declaring that he did not believe it would ever have been attempted, and anxiously denied that the whole of the Mexican force had concurred in the plot. His cousin, the prince of Tacuba, declared that all which had ever passed on the subject, between him and Guatimotzin, was, that they had often expressed their opinion, that it would be better to lose their lives at once like brave men, than to suffer in the manner they did by hunger and fatigue, and to witness the intolerable distresses of their friends and subjects who accompanied them. On these scanty proofs, Cortes sentenced Guatimotzin and the prince of Tacuba to be immediately hanged; and when the preparations were made for the execution, they were led forth to the place attended by the reverend fathers, who did their utmost to console them in their last moments. Before his execution, Guatimotzin addressed Cortes to the following effect: "*Malintzin!* I now see that your false words and flattering prómises have ended in my death. It had been better to have fallen by my own hands, than to have trusted myself to your power. You take away my life unjustly, and may God demand of you my innocent blood." The prince of Tacuba only said, that he was happy to die along with his beloved sovereign. Thus did these two great men end their lives, and, for Indians, most piously and like good Christians. I lamented them both sincerely, having seen them in their greatness. They always treated me kindly on this march, giving me Indians to procure grass for my horse, and doing me many services. To me and all of us, their sentence appeared cruel and unjust, and their deaths most undeserved.

After this, we continued our march with much circumspection, being apprehensive of a mutiny among the Mexican troops in revenge for the execution of their chiefs; but these poor creatures were so exhausted by famine, sickness, and fatigue, that they did not seem even to have bestowed a thought on the matter. At night we came to a deserted village; but on searching we found eight priests, whom we brought to Cortes. He desired them to recal the inhabitants, which they readily promised, requesting him not to injure their idols in a temple close to some buildings in which Cortes was quartered, which he agreed to, yet expostulated with

with them on the absurdity of worshipping compositions of clay and wood. They seemed as if it would have been easy to induce them to embrace the doctrines of our holy faith; and soon brought us twenty loads of fowls and maize. On being examined by Cortes about the bearded men with horses, they said that these people dwelt at a place called *Nito*, at the distance of seven suns, or days journey from their village, and offered to guide us to that place. At this time Cortes was exceedingly sad and ill-humoured, being fretted by the difficulties and misfortunes of his march, and his conscience upbraided him for the cruelty he had committed upon the unfortunate king of Mexico. He was so distracted by these reflections, that he could not sleep, and used to walk about at night, as a relief for his anxious thoughts. Going in the dark to walk in a large apartment which contained some of the Indian idols, he missed his way and fell from a height of twelve feet, by which he received a severe contused wound in his head. He endeavoured to conceal this circumstance from general knowledge, and got his wounds cured as well as he could, keeping his sufferings to himself.

After leaving this place, we came in two days to a district inhabited by a nation called the *Mazotecas*, where we found a newly built town, fortified by two circular enclosures of pallisades, one of which was like a barbican, having loop-holes to shoot through, and was strengthened by ditches. Another part of the town was inaccessible, being on the summit of a perpendicular rock, on the top of which the natives had collected great quantities of stones for their defence: And a third quarter of the town was defended by an impassable morass. Yet after all these defensive preparations, we were astonished to find the town entirely abandoned, though every house was full of the different kinds of provisions which the country afforded, besides which it had a magazine stocked with arms of all sorts. While we were expressing our astonishment at these circumstances, fifteen Indians came out of the morass in the most submissive manner, and told us that they had been forced to the construction of this fortress as their last resort, in an unsuccessful war with a neighbouring nation, called the *Lazandones* as far as I can now remember. They brought back the inhabitants, whom we treated with kindness, and from whom we received farther information respecting the Spanish settlement, to which two of the natives of this place undertook to shew us the way. From this place

place we entered upon vast open plains, in which not a tree was to be seen, and in which innumerable herds of deer were feeding, which were so tame as almost to come up to us. Our horsemen, therefore, easily took as many as they pleased, and we found that the Indians never disturbed them, considering them as a kind of divinities, and had even been commanded by their idols, or priests rather in their name, neither to kill or frighten these animals. The heat of the weather was now so excessive that Palacios Rubios, a relation of Cortes, lost his horse by pursuing the deer. We continued our march along this open campaign country, passing several villages where the destructive ravages of war were distinctly perceivable. On one occasion we met some Indians on their return from hunting, who had along with them a huge *lion* [1] just killed, and several *iguanas* [2], a species of small serpent very good to eat. These people shewed us the way to their town, to which we had to wade up to our middles through a lake of fresh water by which it was surrounded. This lake was quite full of fish, resembling shads, but enormously large, with prickles on their backs; and having procured some nets, we took above a thousand of them, which gave us a plentiful supply. On inquiry, five of the natives of this place engaged to guide us to the settlement of our countrymen; and they were glad to get so easily rid of us, as they were apprehensive we had come to put them all to death.

Leaving this place, we proceeded to a town named *Tayasal*, situated on an island in a river, the white temples, towers, and houses, of which place, glistened from a distance. As the road now became very narrow, we thought proper to halt here for the night, having in the first place detached some soldiers to the river to look out for a passage. They were so fortunate as to take two canoes, containing ten men and two women, who were conveying a cargo of maize and salt. Being brought to Cortes, they informed him that they belonged

1 The true lion, Felis leo, is only found in the old world, chiefly in Africa and the south of Persia. The American lion, or *puma*, the Felis concolor of naturalists, is considerably less than the true lion, being about the size of a large wolf, of a lively red colour tinged with black, but without spots. It climbs trees, whence it drops down by surprise on animals passing below; and though fierce and cunning, hardly ever ventures to attack mankind.—E.

2 The iguana, instead of being a *serpent*, is a large species of *lizard*, the Lacerta iguana of naturalists. It abounds in all the warm and marshy parts of America, and is reckoned excellent eating.—E.

belonged to a town about four leagues farther on. Our general detained one of the canoes and some of the people, and sent two Spaniards along with the rest in the other canoe, to desire the cacique of that town to send him canoes to enable us to cross the river. Next morning, we all marched down to the river, where we found the cacique waiting for us, who invited the general to his place of residence. Cortes accordingly embarked with an escort of thirty crossbows, and was presented on his arrival at the town with a few toys of gold very much alloyed, and a small number of mantles. They informed him that they knew of Spaniards being at three different places, which were Nito, Buena Vista, and Naco, the last being ten days journey inland from Nito, and where the greater number of the Spaniards resided, Nito being on the coast. On hearing this, Cortes observed to us that De Oli had probably divided his forces, as we knew nothing as yet respecting Gil Gonzalo de Avila, or Las Casas.

Our whole army now crossed the river, and halted about two leagues from it, waiting the return of Cortes. At this place, three Spanish soldiers, two Indians, and a Negro deserted; preferring to take their chance among the unknown natives of the country, to a continuance of the fatigues and dangers they had experienced. This day likewise, I had a stroke of the sun, which occasioned a burning fever or calenture. At this period the weather changed, and for three days and nights it rained incessantly; yet we had to continue our march, lest our provisions might fail. After two days march we came to a ridge of rocky hills, which we named the *Sierra de los Pedernales*, the stones of which were as sharp as knives. Several soldiers were sent a league on each side of this bad pass in search of a better road, but to no purpose, so that we were forced to proceed. Our horses fell at every step, and the farther we advanced it grew the worse, insomuch that we lost eight horses, and all the rest were so lamed that they could not keep up with us. After getting over this shocking pass, we advanced towards a town called *Taica*, where we expected to procure provisions in abundance; but to our great mortification were unexpectedly stopped by a prodigious torrent, so swelled by the late heavy rains that it was quite impassable, and made such a noise in tumbling over its rocky bed that it might have been heard at the distance of two leagues. We had to stop here for three complete days to construct a bridge between the precipitous

banks

banks of this river; in consequence of which delay the people of Taica had abandoned their town, removing all their provisions out of our reach. We were all miserably disappointed at this event, finding that hunger was to be our portion after all our fatigues. After sending out his servants in every direction, Cortes was only able to procure about a bushel of maize. He then called together the colonists of Coatzacualco, and earnestly solicited us to use our utmost endeavours to procure supplies. Pedro de Ircio requested to have the command on this occasion, to which Cortes assented: But as I knew Ircio to be a better prater than marcher, I whispered to Cortes and Sandoval to prevent him from going, as he was a duck-legged fellow, who could not get through the miry ground, and would only interrupt us in our search. Cortes accordingly ordered him to remain, and five of us set out with two Indian guides across rivers and marshes, and came at length to some Indian houses where we found provisions in abundance. We here made some prisoners, and with their fruit, fowls, and corn, we celebrated the feast of the Resurrection to our great contentment. That same night we were joined by a thousand Mexicans, who had been sent after us, whom we loaded with all the corn we could procure, and twenty fowls for Cortes and Sandoval, after which there still remained some corn in the town, which we remained to guard. We advanced next day to some other villages, where we found corn in abundance, and wrote a billet to Cortes desiring him to send all the Indians he could spare to carry it to the army. Thirty soldiers and about five hundred Indians arrived in a short time, and we amply provided for the wants of the army during the five days it remained at Taica. I may observe here, that the bridges which we constructed on this march continued good for many years; and the Spaniards, when they travelled this way, used to say, "These are the bridges of Cortes."

After resting five days at Taica, we continued our march for two days to a place called Tania, through a country everywhere intersected by marshes, rivers, and rivulets, all the towns being abandoned and the provisions carried away; and, to add to our misfortunes, our guides made their escape during the night, being entrusted, as I suppose, to some of the newly arrived Spaniards, who used to sleep on their posts. We were thus left in a difficult country, and did not know which way to go; besides which heavy rains fell without ceasing.

ceasing. Cortes was very much out of humour, and observed among his officers, that he wished some others besides the Coatzacualco settlers would bestir themselves in search of guides. Pedro de Ircio, a man of quality named Marmolejo, and Burgales, who was afterwards regidor of Mexico, offered their services, and taking each of them six soldiers, were out three days in search of Indians, but all returned without success, having met with nothing but rivers, marshes, and obstructions. Cortes was quite in despair, and desired Sandoval to ask me as a favour to undertake the business. Though ill, I could not refuse when applied to in this manner; wherefore, taking two friends along with me who could endure fatigue, we set out following the course of a stream, and soon found a way to some houses, by observing marks of boughs having been cut. Following these marks, we came in sight of a village surrounded by fields of corn; but we remained concealed till we thought the people were asleep, and taking the inhabitants by surprise, we secured three men, two very handsome Indian girls, and an old woman, with a few fowls and a small quantity of maize. On bringing our prize to head-quarters, Sandoval was quite overjoyed. "Now," said he to Pedro de Ircio in the presence of Cortes, "was not Castillo in the right, when he refused to take hobbling people along with him, who tell old stories of the adventures of the Conde de Urena and his son Don Pedro Giron?" All who were present laughed heartily at this sally, as Ircio used to pester us with these stories continually, and Sandoval knew that Ircio and I were not on friendly terms. Cortes paid me many compliments on this occasion, and thanked me for my good service. But what is praise more than emptiness, and what does it profit me that Cortes said he relied on me, next to God, for procuring guides? We learnt from the prisoners that it was necessary to descend the river for two days march, when we would come to a town of two hundred houses, called *Oculiztli;* which he did accordingly, passing some large buildings where the travelling Indian merchants used to stop on their journeys. At the close of the second day we came to Oculiztli, where we got plenty of provisions, and in one of the temples we found an old red cap and a sandal, which had been placed there as offerings to the idols. Some of our soldiers brought two old men and four women to Cortes, who told him that the Spanish settlement was on the seaside two days journey from this place, with no intervening

towns.

towns. Cortes therefore gave orders to Sandoval to set out immediately with six soldiers for the coast, to ascertain what number of men De Oli had with him, as he meant to fall upon him by surprise, being quite ignorant of the revolution which had happened in this quarter.

Sandoval set out accordingly with three guides, and on reaching the sea shore, he soon perceived a canoe; and concealing himself where he expected it might anchor for the night, was fortunate enough to get possession of the canoe; which belonged to some Indian merchants who were carrying salt to *Golfo dolce.* Sandoval embarked in this canoe with a part of his men, sending the rest along the shore, and made for the great river. During the voyage, he fell in with four Spaniards belonging to the settlement, who were searching for fruit near the mouth of the river, being in great distress from sickness and the hostilities of the Indians. Two of these men were up in a tree, when they saw Sandoval to their great astonishment, and soon joined him. They informed him of the great distress of the settlement, and of all the events which had occurred, and how they had hanged the officer whom Avila had left in the command, and a turbulent priest, for opposing their determination to return to Cuba, and had elected one Antonio Niote in his stead. Sandoval resolved to carry these people to Cortes, whom he wished to inform as soon as possible of the news, and sent a soldier named Alonzo Ortiz, who soon reached us with the agreeable intelligence, for which Cortes gave him an excellent horse, and all of us gave him something in proportion to our abilities. Sandoval arrived soon afterwards, and Cortes issued immediate orders to march to the coast, which was about six leagues distant. Cortes pushed forwards with his attendants, and crossed the river by means of the two canoes, swimming the horses. The Spanish settlement was about two leagues from the place where Cortes landed, and the colonists were astonished on seeing the Europeans coming towards them, and still more so when they found it was the renowned conqueror of Mexico. Cortes received their congratulations very graciously, and desired them to bring all the canoes they could collect, and the boats belonging to their ships to assist his army in crossing. He likewise ordered them to provide bread for the army; but of this only fifty pounds weight could be got, as they lived almost entirely on *sapotes* and other vegetables, and fish.

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We had an arm of the sea to cross, and had therefore to wait for low water, but Cortes had found the passage so dangerous that he sent us word not to follow till farther orders. The care of passing this dangerous place was entrusted to Sandoval, who took as effectual measures as possible, but it took us four days to get over, partly wading and partly swimming. One soldier and his horse went to the bottom, and was never seen more, and two other horses were lost. A person named Saavedra, presuming on his relationship to Cortes, refused obedience to the orders of Sandoval, and endeavoured to force his passage, even laying his hand on his poinard, and using disrespectful expressions to Sandoval; who seized him instantly and threw him into the water, where he was nearly drowned. Our sufferings at this time were excessive, as during all these four days we had literally nothing to eat, except by gathering a few nuts and some wild fruits, and on getting across our condition was not improved. We found this colony to contain forty men and six women, all yellow and sickly, and utterly destitute of provisions; so that we were under the necessity of setting out immediately in search of food both for ourselves and them. For this purpose, about eighty of us marched, under the command of Luis Marin, to a town about eight leagues distant, where we found abundance of maize and vegetables, and great quantities of cacao; and as this place was in the direct road for Naco, to which Cortes intended to go, he immediately sent Sandoval and the greatest part of the troops to join us, on receiving the agreeable intelligence of our good fortune. We sent a plentiful supply of maize to the miserable colonists who had been so long in a starving condition, of which they eat to such excess that seven of them died. About this time likewise a vessel arrived with seven horses, forty hogs, eight pipes of salted meat, a considerable quantity of biscuit, and fifteen adventurers from Cuba. Cortes immediately purchased all the provisions, which he distributed among the colonists, who eat the salted meat so voraciously that it occasioned diarrhœas, by which, in a very few days, fourteen of them were carried off.

As Cortes wished to examine this great river, he caused one of the brigantines belonging to Avila which had been stranded to be fitted out; and embarking with thirty soldiers and eight mariners belonging to the vessel lately arrived, having likewise a boat and four double canoes, he proceed-

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ed up the river to a spacious lake with good anchorage. This lake was navigable for six leagues, all the adjacent country being subject to be inundated ; but on endeavouring to proceed higher, the current became stronger, and he came to certain shallows, which prevented the vessels from proceeding any farther. Cortes now landed with his soldiers, and advanced into the country by a narrow road which led to several villages of the natives. In the first of these he procured some guides, and in the second he found abundance of corn, and many domesticated birds, among which were pheasants, pigeons, and partridges, which last are often domesticated by the Indians of America. In prosecuting his route, he approached a large town called *Cinacan Tencintle*, in the midst of fine plantations of cacao, where he heard the sound of music and merry-making, the inhabitants being engaged in a drunken feast. Cortes waited a favourable opportunity, concealed in a wood close by the town, when suddenly rushing out, he made prisoners of ten men and fifteen women. The rest of the inhabitants attacked him with their darts and arrows, but our people closed with them and killed eight of their chiefs, on which the rest submitted, sending four old men, two of whom were priests, with a trifling present of gold, and to petition for the liberation of the prisoners, which he accordingly engaged to give up on receiving a good supply of provisions, which they promised to deliver at the ships. A misunderstanding took place afterwards between Cortes and these Indians, as he wished to retain three of their women to make bread, and hostilities were renewed, in which Cortes was himself wounded in the face, twelve of his soldiers wounded, and one of his boats destroyed. He then returned after an absence fo twenty-six days, during which he had suffered excessive torment from the mosquitoes. He wrote to Sandoval, giving him an account of all that had occurred in his expedition to Cinacan, which is seventy leagues from Guatimala, and ordered him to proceed to Naco ; as he proposed to remain himself on purpose to establish a colony at *Puerto de Cavallos* [3], for which he desired Sandoval to send back ten of the Coatzacualco

3 Diaz is very lax in his topographical notices of this famous expedition. The settlement of St Gil de Buena Vista, where Cortes now was, appears to have been at the bottom of the gulf of Amatique in the bay of Honduras, on the east side of the inlet which communicates with the *golfo dolce*. His

Coatzacualco veterans, without whose assistance nothing could be done properly. Taking with him all the Spaniards who remained at St Gil de Buena Vista, Cortes embarked in two ships, and arrived in eight days sail at Puerto de Cavallos, which had a good harbour, and seemed every way well calculated for a colony, which he established there under the command of Diego de Godoy, naming the town Natividad. Expecting by this time that Sandoval might have arrived at Naco, which is not far distant from Puerto Cavallos, Cortes sent a letter for him to that place, requiring a reinforcement of ten of the veteran soldiers of Coatzacualco, as he intended to proceed for the bay of Honduras; but this letter reached us in our last-mentioned quarters, as we had not yet reached Naco. Leaving Cortes for the present, I shall only say that he was so tormented by the mosquitoes, which prevented him from procuring rest either by night or day, that he had almost lost his life or his senses.

On receiving this last letter from the general, Sandoval pressed on for Naco, but was obliged to halt at a place called *Cuyocan*, in order to collect the stragglers who had gone in quest of provisions. We were also impeded by a river, and the natives on every side were hostile. Our line of march was now extremely long, by the great number of invalids, especially of the Mexicans, who were unable to keep up with the main body; on which account Sandoval left me at this place, with the command of eight men at the ferry, to protect and bring up the stragglers. One night the natives attacked my post, setting fire to the house in which we were lodged, and endeavoured to carry away our canoe; but, with the assistance of some of our Mexicans who had come up, we beat them off; and, having collected all the invalids who had loitered behind, we crossed the river next day, and set out to rejoin Sandoval. A Genoese, who had been sometime ill, sunk at length through weakness, occasioned by poverty of diet, and died on the road, and I was obliged to leave his body behind. When I made my report to Sandoval, he was ill pleased at me for not having brought on the dead body; but I told him we had already two invalids on every

His exploration of that inland gulf, was probably in the hope of finding a navigable passage to the Pacific Ocean. The settlement which Cortes projected in Puerto Cavallos, must have been near that now called Fort Omoa. —E.

every horse, and one of my companions said rather haughtily, that we had enough of difficulty to bring on ourselves, without carrying dead men. Sandoval immediately ordered me and that soldier, whose name was Villanueva, to go back and bury the Genoese, which we did accordingly, and placed a cross over his grave. We found a purse in his pocket, containing some dice, and a memorandum of his family and effects in Teneriffe. God rest his soul! *Amen.* In about two days we arrived at Naco, passing a town named *Quinistlan*, and a place where mines have been since discovered. We found Naco to be a very good town, but it was abandoned by its inhabitants, yet we procured plenty of provisions and salt, of which we were in very great need. We took up our quarters in some large quadrangular buildings, where De Oli was executed, and established ourselves there as if we had been to have remained permanently. There is the finest water at this place that is to be found in all New Spain; as likewise a species of tree which is most admirable for the *siesta*; as, however great may be the heat of the sun, there is always a most delightful and refreshing coolness under its shade, and it seems to give out a delicate kind of dew, which is good for the head. Naco is admirably situated, in a fertile neighbourhood, which produces different kinds of *sapotes* in great abundance, and it was then very populous. Sandoval obtained possession of three chiefs of the district, whom he treated kindly, by which means the people of the district remained in peace, but all his endeavours to induce the inhabitants to return to the town were ineffectual. It was now necessary to send the reinforcement of ten Coatzacualco veterans which Cortes had required. At that time I was ill, and besides Sandoval wished to retain me along with him: Eight valiant soldiers were sent off, however, who heartily cursed Cortes and his expedition at every step of their march; for which indeed they had good reason, as they were entirely ignorant of the state of the country through which they had to go. Sandoval took the precaution of sending five principal people of the natives along with them, making known at the same time that he would punish the country most severely if any injury was done them on their journey. They arrived in safety at Natividad, where Cortes then was; who immediately embarked for Truxillo, leaving Godoy in the command of the settlement at Puerto de Cavallos, with forty Spaniards, who were

all

all that remained of the settlers who had accompanied de Avila, and of those who had come recently from Cuba. Godoy maintained himself for some time; but his men were continually dropping off by disease, and the Indians began at last to despise and neglect him, refusing to supply the settlement with provisions, so that in a short time he lost above half his number by sickness and famine, and three of his men deserted to join Sandoval. By various expeditions and judicious measures, Sandoval reduced all the country round Naco to peace and submission, namely the districts of Cirimongo, Acalao, Quinistlan, and four others, of which I forget the names, and even extended his authority over the natives as far as Puerto Cavallos, where Godoy commanded.

After six days sail, Cortes arrived at the port of Truxillo, where he found a colony which had been established by Francisco de las Casas, among whom were many of the mutineers who had served under De Oli, and who had been banished from Panuco. Conscious of their guilt, all these men waited on Cortes, and supplicated for pardon, which he granted them, even confirming all who had been appointed to offices in the colony; but he placed his relation Saavedra as commandant of the colony and surrounding province. Cortes summoned all the chiefs and priests of the Indians, to whom he made a long harangue, giving them to understand that he had come among them to induce them to abandon the cruel and abominable practices of their false religion, and to embrace the only true faith. He also enlarged upon the power and dignity of our great emperor, to whose government he required their submission. He was followed by the reverend fathers, who exhorted them to become proselytes to the holy catholic religion, the principles of which they explained. After all this, the people readily agreed to obey our general, and to become vassals to Don Carlos; and Cortes enjoined them to provide the settlement with provisions, especially fish, which are caught in great abundance in the sea about the islands of *Guanajes* [4]; he likewise ordered them to send a number of labourers to clear the woods in front of the town of Truxillo, so as to open a view of the sea. Cortes likewise ordered a number of sows with

4 These islands of Guanajes appear to be those called by the English settlers of Honduras, Ratan and Bonaeo, off cape Honduras.—E.

with young to be turned loose in these islands, by which, in a few years, they were amply stocked. The natives cleared the woods between Truxillo and the sea in two days, and built fifteen houses for the colonists, one of which for Cortes, was sufficiently commodious. Cortes became feared and renowned over all the districts, as far as *Olancho*, where rich mines have been since discovered; the natives giving him the name of *Captain Hue-hue de Marina*, or the old captain of Donna Marina. He reduced the whole country to submission, excepting two or three districts in the mountains, against which he sent a party of soldiers under Captain Saavedra, who brought most of them under subjection, one tribe only named the *Acaltecans* holding out.

As a great many of the people along with Cortes became sick through the unhealthiness of the climate, he sent them by a vessel to Hispaniola or Cuba for the recovery of their healths. By this opportunity, he sent letters to the royal audience of St Domingo and the reverend brothers of the order of St Jerome, giving an account of all the events that had recently happened, and in particular of his having left the government of Mexico in the hands of deputies, while he proceded to reduce de Oli who had rebelled. He apprised them of his future intentions, and requested a reinforcement of soldiers, to enable him to reduce the country where he now was to subjection; and that they might attach the greater credit to his report of its value, he sent a valuable present of gold, taken in reality from his own side-board, but which he endeavoured to make them believe was the produce of this new settlement. He entrusted the management of this business to a relation of his own, named Avalos, whom he directed to take up in his way twenty-five soldiers who, he was informed, had been left in the island of Cozumel to kidnap Indians to be sent for slaves to the West Indian islands. This vessel was wrecked about seventy leagues from the Havanna, on which occasion Avalos and many of the passengers perished. Those who escaped, among whom was the licentiate Pedro Lopez, brought the first intelligence to the islands of the existence of Cortes and his army; as it had been universally believed in Cuba and Hispaniola that we had all perished. As soon as it was known where Cortes was, two old ships were sent over to Truxillo with horses and colts, and one pipe of wine; all the rest of their cargoes consisting of shirts, caps, and useless trumpery of various kinds. Some of the Indian inhabitants

habitants of the Guanajas islands, which are about eight leagues from Truxillo, came at this time to Cortes, complaining that the Spaniards had been accustomed to carry away the natives and their *macegualos* or slaves, and that a vessel was now there which was supposed to have come for that purpose. Cortes immediately sent over one of his vessels to the islands; but the ship against which the natives complained made sail immediately on seeing her, and escaped. It was afterwards known, that this vessel was commanded by the bachelor Moreno, who had been sent on business by the royal audience of St Domingo to Nombre de Dios.

While Sandoval remained at Naco, the chiefs of two neighbouring districts, named Quecuspan and Tanchinalchapa, complained to him of a party of Spaniards, at the distance of a days march from Naco, who robbed their people and made slaves of them. Sandoval set out against these people immediately with a party of seventy men, and on coming to the place these Spaniards were exceedingly surprised at seeing us and took to their arms; but we soon seized their captain and several others, and made them all prisoners without any bloodshed. Sandoval reprehended them severely for their misconduct, and ordered all the Indians whom they had made prisoners to be immediately released. One Pedro de Garro was the commander of these men, among whom were several gentlemen, and in comparison of us dirty and worn down wretches, they were all mounted and attended like lords. They were all marched to our head-quarters as prisoners; but in a day or two they became quite reconciled to their lot. The occasion of their coming into the country was as follows: Pedro Arias de Avila, the governor of Tierra Firma, had sent a captain named Francisco Hernandez to reduce the provinces of Nicaragua and New Leon, and to establish a colony in that place, which he accomplished. After the atrocious murder of Balboa, who had married Donna Isabella the daughter of Aries, Moreno had been sent over by the court of royal audience, and persuaded Hernandez, who was now comfortably settled, to throw off his dependence upon Pedro Aries, and to establish a distinct government immediately under the royal authority. Hernandez had done so, and had sent this party under de Garro on purpose to open a communication from Nicaragua with the north coast, by which to receive supplies from old Spain. When all this was explained to Sandoval, he sent Captain Luis Marin to communicate the

intelligence

intelligence to Cortes, in expectation that he would support the views of Hernandez. I was sent along with Marin on this occasion, our whole force consisting of ten men. Our journey was exceedingly laborious, having to cross many rivers which were much swollen by the rains, and we had at times to make our way through hostile Indians armed with large heavy lances, by which two of our soldiers were wounded. We had sometimes three difficult rivers to cross in one day; and one river, named Xagua, ten leagues from Triumpho de la Cruz, detained us for two days. By the side of that river we found the skeletons of seven horses, which had belonged to the troops of de Oli, and had died from eating poisonous herbs. Several of the rivers and inlets on our journey were much infested by alligators.

Passing Triumpho de la Cruz and a place called Quemara, we arrived one evening near Truxillo, where we saw five horsemen riding along the sea shore, who happened to be our general and four of his friends taking the air. After the first surprize at this unexpected meeting, Cortes dismounted and embraced us all with tears in his eyes, quite overjoyed to see us. It made me quite melancholy to see him, as he was so worn down by distress and disease, that he appeared much reduced and extremely weak, insomuch that he had even expected death, and had procured a Fanciscan habit to be buried in. He walked along with us into the town of Truxillo, and invited us all to sup with him; where we fared so wretchedly that I had not even my fill of bread or biscuit. After reading over the letters we had brought him relative to Hernandez, he promised to do every thing in his power to support him. The two vessels which I formerly mentioned as having brought horses from Hispaniola, only arrived three days before us, and we were fools enough to run ourselves in debt by purchasing their useless frippery. Hitherto Cortes had not received any intelligence whatever from Mexico since he left it on this disastrous expedition; but, while we were giving him an account of the hardships of our late journey from Naco, a vessel was descried at a distance making for our port. This vessel was from the Havanna, and brought letters from the licentiate Zuazo, who had been alcalde-major of Mexico, the contents of which overwhelmed Cortes with such sorrow and distress, that he retired to his private apartment, whence he did not stir out for a whole day, and we could distinctly hear that he suffered great agitation. After hearing

mass next morning, he called us together and communicated to us the intelligence which these letters conveyed, which was to the following effect.

In consequence of the power which Cortes had inconsiderately granted to Salazar and Chirinos, to supersede Estrada and Albornos in the administration of government in Mexico, in case of misconduct in these deputies, they had formed a strong party on their return to Mexico, among whom were Zuazo the alcalde-major, Rodrigo de Paz, alguazil-major, Alonzo de Tapia, Jorge de Alvarado, and many of the veteran conquerors, and had attempted to seize the government by force, and much disturbance and some bloodshed had ensued. Salazar and Chirinos had carried their point, and had taken the two former deputies and many of their friends prisoners; and as discontents and opposition still prevailed, they had confiscated the property of their opponents, which they distributed among their own partizans. They had superseded Zuazo in his office of alcalde-major, and had imprisoned Rodrigo de Paz; yet Zuazo had brought about a temporary reconciliation. During these disturbances, the Zapotecans and Mixtecans, and the inhabitants of a strong rocky district named Coatlan had rebelled, against whom the veedor Chirinos had marched with an armed force; but his troops thought of nothing but card-playing, so that the enemy had surprised their camp and done them much mischief. The factor Salazar had sent a veteran captain, Andres de Monjaraz, to assist and advise Chirinos; but Monjaraz being an invalid was unable to exert himself properly; and to add to their distractions, an insurrection was every hour expected in Mexico. The factor Salazar, constantly remitted gold to his majesties treasurer, Don Francisco de los Cobos, to make interest for himself at court, reporting that we had all died at Xicalonga. This report originated with Diego de Ordas, who, on purpose to escape from the factious troubles in Mexico, had gone with two vessels in search of us to Xicalongo, where Cuença and Medina had been slain as formerly mentioned, on learning which misfortune he concluded it had been Cortes and his whole party, which he so reported in letters to Mexico, and had sailed himself to Cuba. Salazar shewed these letters to our several relations in Mexico, who all put on mourning, and so universally were we all believed to be dead, that our properties had been sold by public auction. The factor Salazar even assumed to himself the office

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of governor and captain-general of New Spain; a monument was erected to the honour of Cortes, and funeral service was performed for him in the great church of Mexico. The self-assumed governor even issued an order, that all the women whose husbands had gone with Cortes, and who had any regard for their souls, should consider themselves as widows and should immediately marry again; and because a woman named Juana de Mansilla, the wife of Alonzo Valiente, refused to obey this order, alleging we were not people who would be so easily destroyed as Salazar and his party, she was ordered to be publickly whipped through Mexico as a witch. One person from whom we expected better behaviour, and whose name I will not mention, by way of flattering Salazar, solemnly assured him before many witnesses, that one night, as he was passing the church of St Jago, which is built on the site of the great temple of Mexico, he saw the souls of Cortes, Donna Marina, and Sandoval burning in flames of fire: Another person, also, of good reputation, pretended that the quadrangles of Tescuco were haunted by evil spirits, which the natives said were the souls of Donna Marina and Cortes.

At this time the captains Las Casas and De Avila, who had beheaded Christoval de Oli, arrived in Mexico, and publickly asserted the existence of Cortes, reprobating the conduct of Salazar, and declaring if Cortes were actually dead, that Alvarado was the only fit person to have been raised to the government, till his majesties pleasure could be known. Alvarado was written to on the subject, and even set out for Mexico; but becoming apprehensive for his life, he returned to his district. Finding that he could not bring over Las Casas, De Avila, and Zuazo to his party, Salazar caused the two former to be arrested and prosecuted for the murder of De Oli, and even procured their condemnation; and it was with the utmost difficulty their execution could be prevented by an appeal to his majesty; but he was obliged to content himself with sending them prisoners to Spain. He next sent off the licentiate Zuazo in irons to Cuba, under pretence of making him answer for his conduct while acting as a judge in that island. Salazar collected all the gold he could lay his hands upon, and seized Rodrigo de Paz, alguazil-major of Mexico, who had been major domo to Cortes, demanding of him an account and surrender of all the treasure belonging to the general; and as he either could not or would not

discover

discover where it was, he caused him to be tortured by burning his feet and legs, and even caused him to be hanged that he might not carry his complaints to his majesty. His object in collecting gold was to support his negociations at court; but in this he was counteracted by almost all the other officers of government in New Spain, who determined to send their own statements of the affairs of the colony to court by the same conveyance with his. He arrested most of the friends of Cortes, several of whom joined his party as he gave them Indians, and because they wished to be of the strongest side; but Tapia and Jorge Alvarado took sanctuary with the Franciscans. To deprive the malcontents of arms, he brought the whole contents of the arsenal to his palace, in front of which he planted all the artillery for his defence, under the command of Captain Luis de Guzman, son-in-law to the duke of Medina Sidonia. He formed likewise a body guard for his own individual protection, partly composed of soldiers who had belonged to Cortes, to the command of which he appointed one Arriaga. This letter likewise mentioned the death of Father Bartholomew de Olmedo, who was so much revered by the native Mexicans, that they fasted from the time of his death till after his burial. Zuazo, in the conclusion of his letter, expressed his apprehensions that the colony of Mexico would be utterly ruined by these confusions. Along with this long and melancholy letter from Zuazo, Cortes received letters from his father, informing him of the death of the bishop of Burgos, and of the intrigues of Albornos at court, already mentioned on a former occasion, and the interference of the Duke of Bejar in his behalf. He also told him that Narvaez had been appointed to the government of the country on the river Palmas, and one Nuno de Guzman to the province of Panuco.

The intelligence from Zuazo made us all very melancholy, and it is difficult to say which of the two we cursed most heartily in secret for our misfortunes, Cortes or Salazar, for we gave them ten thousand maledictions, and our hearts sunk within us to think of our miserable plight after all our fatigues and dangers. Cortes retired to his chamber, and did not appear again till the evening, when we unanimously entreated him to hasten to Mexico, that he might recover the government from the usurper. He replied kindly: "My dear friends, this villanous factor is very powerful. If I go along with you to Mexico, he may waylay us by the road and mur-

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der us all. I think it better for me to go privately to Mexico with only three or four of you, that I may come upon him at unawares, and that all the rest of you rejoin Sandoval and go along with him to Mexico." When I saw that Cortes was resolved on going privately to Mexico, I anxiously requested to attend him, as I had hitherto accompanied him in all his difficulties and dangers. He complimented me on my fidelity, but insisted on my continuing with Sandoval. Several of the colonists of Truxillo began to grow mutinous, because Cortes had neglected promoting them to offices; but he pacified them by promises of providing for them when he should be replaced in his government of Mexico. Previous to his intended departure, he wrote to Diego de Godoy, to quit Puerto Cavallos with his settlers, where they were unable to remain on account of mosquitos and other vermin, ordering them to relieve us in the good settlement of Naco. He also ordered that we should take the province of Nicaragua in our way to Mexico, as it was a country in his opinion worth taking care of. We took our leave of Cortes, who embarked on his intended voyage, and we set out cheerfully for Naco to join Sandoval, as Mexico was now the object of our march. The route to Naco was as usual attended with much difficulty and distress, yet we got safe there, and found that Captain De Garro had set off for Nicaragua, to inform his commander Hernandez that Cortes was setting out for Mexico, and had promised to give him all the assistance in his power.

Two confidential friends of Pedro Aries had come to the knowledge of the private correspondence between Hernandez and Cortes, and suspected that Hernandez meant to detach himself from the command of Aries, and to surrender his province to Cortes. The names of these men were Garruito and Zamorrano, the former of whom was urged by an ancient enmity to Cortes, on account of a rivalship between them in Hispaniola when both young men, about a lady, which ended in a duel. These persons communicated intelligence of all they knew to Aries, who immediately hastened to Nicaragua, to seize all the parties concerned. Garro took the alarm in time, and made his escape to us; but Hernandez, relying on his former intimacy with Aries, expected that he would not proceed to extremities against him, and waited his arrival. He was miserably disappointed in these hopes,

as

as Aries, after a summary process, ordered him to execution as a traitor to his superior officer.

On his first attempt to sail from Truxillo to Vera Cruz, Cortes was put back by contrary winds, and a second time by an accident happening to his ship. Dispirited by sickness, the accidents which had delayed his voyage prayed on his spirits, he became apprehensive of the power of Salazar being too great for him, and his lofty mind sunk under superstitious fears. On his second return to Truxillo, he ordered the celebration of a solemn mass, and prayed fervently to be enlightened by the Holy Spirit as to his future proceedings. On this occasion it appears that he became inclined to remain in Truxillo to colonize that part of the country; and in three several expresses which he sent in quick succession to recall us to that place, he attributed his determination on that subject to the inspiration of his guardian angel. On receiving these messages, we cursed Cortes and his bad fortune, and declared to Sandoval that he must remain by himself, if he chose that measure, as we were resolved on returning to Mexico. Sandoval was of the same opinion with us, and we sent a letter to Cortes to that effect signed by all of us; to which we had an answer in a few days, making great offers to such of us as would remain, and saying, if we refused, that there still were good soldiers to be had in Castile and elsewhere. On receiving this letter we were more determined than ever to proceed; but Sandoval persuaded us to wait a few days till he could see and speak with Cortes; to whom we wrote in reply, that if he could find soldiers in Castile, so could we find governors and generals in Mexico, who would give us plantations for our services, and that we had already suffered sufficient misfortunes by following him. With this reply Sandoval set off, attended by a soldier named Sauzedo and a farrier, swearing by his beard that he would not return till he had seen Cortes embarked for Mexico. On this occasion Sandoval applied to me for my horse, an excellent animal for speed, exercise, and travel, which cost me six hundred crowns, my former horse having been killed in action at a place called Zulaco. Sandoval gave me one of his in exchange, which was killed under me in less than two months; after which I was reduced to a vicious colt which I bought from the two vessels at Truxillo. On parting from us, Sandoval desired us to wait his return at a large Indian town called Acalteca.

When

When Sandoval came to Truxillo, Cortes received him very joyfully; but neither his pressing instances nor our letter could prevail on him to proceed to Mexico. He prevailed on him, therefore, to send Martin de Orantes, a confidential servant, with a commission to Pedro de Alvarado and Francisco de las Casas, in case these officers were in Mexico, to assume the government till he should return; or, in the event of their absence, to authorise the treasurer, Estrada, and the contador, Albornos, to resume the power granted by the former deputation, revoking that which he had so inadvertently given to the factor Salazar and the veedor Chirinos, which they had so grossly abused. Cortes agreed to this, and having given Orantes his instructions and commissions, directed him to land in a bay between Vera Cruz and Panuco, suffering no person but himself to go on shore, after which the vessel was immediately to proceed to Panuco, that his arrival might be kept as secret as possible. Orantes was likewise furnished with letters from Cortes to all his friends in New Spain, and to the treasurer and contador, although he knew they were not of that description, desiring them all to use their utmost diligence in displacing the present tyrannical usurpers. Having favourable weather, Orantes soon arrived at his destination; and disguising himself as a labourer, set forward on his journey, always avoiding the Spaniards, and lodging only among the natives. When questioned by any one, he called himself Juan de Flechilla; and indeed he was so altered during his absence of two years and three months, that his most intimate acquaintances could not have recognised him. Being a very active man, he arrived in four days in Mexico, which he entered in the dark, and proceeded immediately to the convent of the Franciscans, where he found the Alvarados and several other friends of Cortes, who were there concealed. On explaining his errand and producing the letters of Cortes, every one was exceedingly rejoiced, and even the reverend fathers danced for gladness. The gates of the monastery were immediately locked, to preclude all notice being conveyed to the adverse party; and about midnight, the treasurer and contador, and many of the friends of Cortes were brought secretly to the convent, where the intelligence was communicated to them. In a grand consultation, it was resolved to seize the factor Salazar next morning, the contador Chirinos being still occupied at the rock of Coatlan.

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The rest of the night was employed in providing arms and collecting all their friends, and at day-break next morning the whole party marched for the palace which Salazar inhabited, calling out as they went along, "Long live the king, and the governor Hernando Cortes." When this was heard by the citizens, they all took up arms; and under an idea that their assistance was required by the government, many of them joined Estrada on the march. The contador Albornos played a double game on the occasion, as he sent intelligence to put Salazar on his guard, for which Estrada reproached him afterwards with much severity. On approaching the palace, the friends of Cortes found Salazar already well prepared for resistance, in consequence of the information he had received; the artillery under Guzman being drawn out ready for action in front of the palace, and a strong garrison inside for its defence. But the adherents of Cortes pushed on, forcing their way by the different doors, and others by the terraces or wherever they could get access, continually shouting, for the king and Cortes. The adherents of Salazar were dismayed; the artillery-men abandoned the guns, and the other soldiers run away and hid themselves, leaving the poor factor with only Pedro Gonzalez Sabiote and four servants. Salazar being thus abandoned, became desperate, and endeavoured to fire off one of the guns, in which attempt he was made prisoner, and confined in a wooden cage. Circular notice of this revolution was immediately conveyed to all the provinces of New Spain; and the veedor Chirinos, leaving the command of his troops with Monjaraz, took refuge in the Franciscan monastery at Tescuco; but was shortly afterwards made prisoner and secured in another cage. Immediate intelligence of this revolution was transmitted to Pedro de Alvarado, with directions to go immediately to Truxillo to wait upon Cortes. The next thing done by the new deputies was to wait upon Juanna de Mansilla, who had been whipped as a witch, who was placed on horseback behind the treasurer Estrada, in which situation she was escorted in grand procession through all the streets of Mexico, like a Roman matron, and was ever afterwards stiled *Donna Juanna*, in honour of her constancy, for refusing to marry again while she believed her husband was still living.

As the situation of Mexico evidently required the presence of Cortes, Fra Diego de Altamirano was sent by his friends to

to represent to him the necessity of setting out immediately for the capital. This reverend father had been in the army before he entered the church, and was a man of considerable abilities, and experienced in business. On his arrival at Truxillo, and giving Cortes an account of the recent events in Mexico, the general gave thanks to God for the restoration of peace; but declared his intention of going to Mexico by land, being afraid of encountering the adverse currents, and because of the bad state of his health. The pilots, however, represented that the season was quite favourable for the voyage, it being then the month of April, and prevailed on him to give up his first resolution. But he would on no account leave Truxillo till the return of Sandoval, who had been detached with seventy soldiers against a Captain Roxas, who served under Pedro Arias de Avila, against whom complaints had been made by the inhabitants of Olancho, a district about fifty-five leagues from Truxillo. When the parties first met they were on the brink of proceeding to hostilities; but they were reconciled and parted amicably, Roxas and his men agreeing to evacuate the country. Sandoval was recalled in consequence of the arrival of Altamirano, and Cortes took measures to leave the country in good order, of which Saavedra was left lieutenant-governor. Captain Luis Marin was directed to march our whole party to Mexico by way of Guatimala, and Captain Godoy was ordered to take the command at Naco. All things being now settled for the departure of Cortes, he confessed to Fra Juan and received the Sacrament, previous to his embarkation, as he was so exceedingly ill that he thought himself on the point of death. The wind was favourable, and he soon arrived at the Havanna, where he was honourably received by his former friends and acquaintances, and where he had the pleasure, by a vessel just arrived from Vera Cruz, to receive intelligence that New Spain was entirely restored to peace; as all the refractory Indians, on hearing that Cortes and we their former conquerors were alive and returning, had come in and made their submissions.

The conduct of Salazar and Chirinos during their usurped authority had gained them many adherents; as, by means of their confiscations and the distribution of property among their greedy supporters, many were interested in the maintenance of their authority. These were mostly of the lower order, and persons of a seditious disposition; though some men

men of quality, especially influenced by the contador Albornos, who dreaded the arrival of Cortes, had formed a plot to kill the treasurer Estrada, and to reinstate Salazar and Chirinos in the government. For the purpose of releasing them from prison, they employed one Guzman, a white-smith, a fellow of low character who affected to be a wit, to make keys for opening their cages, giving him a piece of gold of the form which they required, and enjoining the strictest secrecy. He undertook all that they asked with the utmost apparent zeal, pretending to be very anxious for the liberation of the prisoners; and by his affected humour and zeal for the cause, contrived to become acquainted with their whole plan of procedure: But when the keys were finished and the plot ripe for execution, he communicated intelligence of the whole affair to Estrada; who instantly assembled the friends of Cortes, and went to the place of meeting, where he found twenty of the conspirators already armed and waiting for the signal. These were seized, but many others made their escape. Among the prisoners there were several very notorious characters, one of whom had lately committed violence on a Spanish woman. They were immediately brought to trial before Ortega, the alcalde-major of Mexico; and, being convicted, three of them were hanged, and several of the rest whipped.

I must here digress, to mention an affair not exactly accordant in point of time with my narrative, but relevant in regard to its subject. By the same vessel in which Salazar had transmitted letters to his majesty tending to criminate Cortes, other letters were conveyed and so artfully concealed that he had no suspicion of their existence, in which a full and true account of all his oppresions and unlawful proceedings was sent to his majesty. All these facts had also been reported by the royal court of audience at St Domingo; by which the reported death of Cortes was contradicted, and his majesty was truly informed in what manner the general was employed for his service. In consequence of these representations, the emperor is said to have expressed his high indignation at the unworthy treatment which Cortes had experienced, and his determination to support him in the government of New Spain.

SECTION

Section XXI.

Return of Cortes to Mexico, and occurrences there previous to his departure for Europe; together with an account of the return of the Author to Mexico.

Cortes remained five days at the Havanna for refreshment, after which he reimbarked, and in twelve days arrived at the port of Medelin, opposite the *Isla de los Sacrificios*, where he disembarked with twenty soldiers; and while proceeding to the town of San Juan de Ulua, about half a league from Medelin, he had the good fortune to fall in with a string of horses and mules which had been employed in conveying travellers to the coast, which he immediately engaged to carry him and his suit to Vera Cruz [1]. He gave strict orders to all who accompanied him to give no hint to any person of his name and quality; and on his arrival at the town before day-break, he went directly to the church, the doors of which were just opened. The sacristan was alarmed at seeing so great a number of strangers going into the church, and immediately ran into the streets to call the civil power to his assistance. The alcaldes, with the alguazils, and some of the inhabitants repaired immediately to the church with their arms; and Cortes was so squalid from long illness, that no one knew him till he began to speak. The moment he was known, they all fell on their knees and kissed his hands, welcoming him back to New Spain; and his old fellow-soldiers escorted him after mass to the quarters of Pedro Moreno, where he remained eight days, during which he was feasted by the inhabitants. Intelligence was immediately conveyed of the joyful news to Mexico and all the surrounding country, and Cortes wrote to all his friends giving them notice of his arrival. The neighbouring Indians flocked to wait upon him with presents and congratulations; and when he set out on his

1 The harbour of Medelin is fifteen or twenty miles south from Vera Cruz; but I suspect the place named St Juan de Ulua in the text is the modern town of Vera Cruz, the harbour of which is protected by the island and castle of St Juan de Ulua. The ancient town of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, now called Antigua, is about twenty-five miles north from modern Vera Cruz.—E.

his journey to Mexico, every preparation was made for his accommodation and honourable entertainment. The inhabitants of Mexico, and all the places round the lake, and those of Tlascala and all the other Indian towns, celebrated his return with festivals. On his arrival at Tescuco, the contador came to wait upon him, and on entering the capital, he was received in great state by all the civil and military officers, and all the inhabitants. The natives in their gayest attire, and armed as warriors, filled the lake in their canoes; dancing and festivity prevailed in every corner of the city during the whole day; and at night every house was illuminated. Immediately on his arrival, he went to the monastery of St Francis, to give thanks to God for his preservation and safe return; and from thence went to his magnificent palace, where he was esteemed, served, and feared like a sovereign prince, all the provinces sending messages of congratulation on his happy return, with considerable presents. This return of Cortes to Mexico was in June [2], and he immediately ordered the arrest of all who had been most eminent for sedition during his absence, causing a judicial inquiry to be made into the conduct of the two principal culprits, Salazar and Chirinos, whom he intended to have brought immediately to justice for their crimes; and, if he had done so, no one would have found fault, but in this instance he certainly acted with too much lenity, or rather want of firmness. I remember to have heard from some of the members of the royal council of the Indies in 1540, that the capital punishment of these men would have been approved by his majesty. One Ocampo, who had been guilty of defamatory libels, and an old scrivener named Ocana, who used to be called the soul of Chirinos, was arrested on this occasion.

Shortly after the arrival of Cortes in Mexico, the licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon arrived unexpectedly at Medelin, and Cortes was surprised with this intelligence while performing his devotions in the church of St Francis. He prayed earnestly for direction from God, that he might so conduct himself on this critical emergency, as seemed best fitting to his holy will, and the good service of his sovereign; and immediately

2 Diaz is frequently inattentive to dates, and does not on this occasion inform us of the year: By reference to Robertsons History of America, II. 266, 12mo. ed. Lond. 1800, it certainly appears to have been in the year 1524.—E.

mediately sent a confidential person to bring him information of the particular object and tendency of the coming of De Leon. In two days after, he received a copy of the royal orders to receive the licentiate as resident judge of Mexico: In consequence of which, he dispatched a person with a complimentary message, desiring to know which of the two roads to the city De Leon intended to take, that he might give orders for every proper accommodation to be prepared suitable to his rank. De Leon sent back an answer, thanking him for his polite attention, but that he proposed to repose for some time where he then was, to recover from the fatigues of his voyage. This interval was busily employed by the enemies of Cortes, in misrepresenting all the transactions in which Cortes had been concerned. They asserted that Cortes intended to put the factor and veedor to death before the arrival of De Leon at Mexico, and even warned him to take great care of his own personal safety, alleging that the civility of Cortes in desiring to know the road he meant to take, were to enable him to prepare for his assassination, under pretence of doing him honour. The persons with whom the licentiate principally consulted were, Proano, the alcalde-major, and his brother, who was alcalde of the citadel, named Salazar de la Pedrada, who soon afterwards died of a pleurisy; Marcos de Aguilar, a licentiate or bachelor; a soldier named Bocanegra de Cordova, and certain friars of the Dominican order, of whom Fra Thomas Ortiz was provincial. This man had been a prior somewhere, and was said to be much better fitted for worldly affairs, than for the concerns of his holy office. By these men De Leon was advised to proceed to Mexico without delay, and accordingly the last messengers sent to him by Cortes met him on the road at Iztapalapa. A sumptuous banquet was prepared at this place for De Leon and his suit, in which, after several abundant and magnificent courses, some cheese-cakes and custards were served up as great delicacies, which were much relished, and some of the company eat of them so heartily that they became sick. Ortiz asserted that they had been mixed up with arsenic, and that he had refrained from eating them from suspicion; but some who were present declared that he partook of them heartily, and declared they were the best he had ever tasted. This ridiculous story was eagerly circulated by the enemies of Cortes. While De Leon was at Iztapalapa, Cortes remained in Mexico; and

report

report said that he sent at this time a good sum in gold as a present to the licentiate. When De Leon set out from Iztapalapa, Cortes having notice of his approach, went immediately to meet him, with a grand and numerous retinue of all the officers and gentlemen of the city. At meeting, many civilities passed between the two great men, and Cortes prevailed with some difficulty on De Leon to take the right hand. De Leon proceeded immediately to the monastery of St Francis, to offer up his thanks to the Almighty for his safe arrival, whence he was conducted by Cortes to a palace prepared for him, where he was most sumptuously entertained, all business being deferred for that day. On this occasion the grandeur and politeness of Cortes were so conspicuous, that De Leon is said to have observed privately among his friends, that Cortes must have been long practising the manners of a great man.

Next day, the *cabildo* or council of Mexico, all the civil and military officers, and all the veterans who were present in the capital, were ordered to assemble; and in the presence of all these, the licentiate Ponce de Leon produced his commission from his majesty. Cortes kissed it, and placed it on his head as a mark of respectful submission, and all present declared their ready obedience. The licentiate then received from Cortes the rod of justice, in token of surrendering the government into his hands, saying: " General, I receive this government from you by the orders of his majesty; although it is by no means implied that you are not most worthy both of this and of a higher trust." The general answered, " That he was always happy in obeying the commands of his majesty, and was the more satisfied on the present occasion, because he would have an opportunity to prove the malice and falsehood of his enemies." De Leon replied, " That in all societies there were good and bad men, for such was the way of the world; and he trusted that both would be repaid in kind." This was all the material business of the first day. On the next, the new governor sent a respectful summons to Cortes, who accordingly waited upon him, and they had a long private conference, at which no one was present except the prior Ortiz: Yet it was believed that the conversation was to the following effect. De Leon observed, that it was the wish of his majesty that those who had most merit in the conquest of the country should be well provided for in the distribution of plantations, those

soldiers who had first come from Cuba being more especially considered: Whereas it was understood that they had been neglected, while others who had newly arrived had been gratified with unmerited wealth. To this Cortes answered, that all had got shares in the division of the country; and that it could not be imputed to him that some of these had turned out of less value than others: But it was now in the power of the new governor to remedy this inequality. The governor then asked why Luis de Godoy had been left to perish in a distant settlement, when the veterans ought to have been allowed to enjoy the comforts of established possessions in Mexico, and the new settlements assigned to new colonists: And why Captain Luis Marin, Bernal Diaz, and other approved veterans had been neglected. Cortes answered, That for business of difficulty and danger, none but the veterans could be depended on: But that all these were soon expected to return to Mexico, when the new governor would have it in his power to provide for them. De Leon next questioned him rather sharply about his imprudent march against Christoval de Oli, which he had undertaken without permission from his majesty. Cortes said, That he looked upon that measure as necessary for his majestys service, as such an example might have dangerous effects on officers entrusted with subordinate commands; and that he had reported his intentions to his majesty before he set out on this expedition. De Leon questioned him likewise on the affairs of Narvaez, Garay, and Tapia; on all of which subjects Cortes gave such answers that the governor seemed perfectly satisfied.

Soon after this conference, Ortiz called on three very intimate friends of the general, and pretending to be actuated only by the most friendly desire to serve him, assured them that the governor had secret orders from the emperor to behead Cortes immediately; and that he, from private regard, and in conformity with the duties of his holy functions, had considered it to be his duty to give him this intelligence. He even desired an interview with Cortes next morning, and communicated the same information to him, accompanied with many protestations of regard and friendship. This assuredly gave Cortes a very serious subject of meditation: But he had already been informed of the intriguing character of the prior, and suspected all this proceeded from a wish to be bribed for his good offices with the governor; though

though some alleged that Ortiz acted by the secret directions of De Leon on this occasion. Cortes received this pretended friendly information with many thanks; but declared his belief that his majesty had a better opinion of his services, than to proceed against him in this clandestine manner; and that he had too high an opinion of the governor, than to believe he could proceed to such extremities without the royal warrant. When the prior found that his sly conduct did not produce the effect which he had expected, he remained so confused that he knew not what farther to say on the occasion. The new governor gave public notice, for all who had complaints to make against the former administration, to bring their charges, whether against Cortes, or any others of the civil or military officers. In consequence of this, a vast number of accusers, litigants, and claimants started up; among whom many private enemies of the general preferred unjust accusations against him, while others made just claims for what was really due to them. Some alleged that they had not received their just shares of the gold; others that they had not been sufficiently rewarded in the distribution of settlements; some demanded remuneration for their horses which had been killed in the wars, though they had already been paid ten times their value; and others demanded satisfaction for personal injuries. Just as the governor had opened his court to give a hearing to all parties, it pleased God, for our sins, and to our great misfortune, that he was suddenly taken ill of a fever. He remained four days in a lethargic state; after which, by the advice of his physicians, he confessed and received the sacrament with great devotion, and appointed Marcos de Aguilar, who had come with him from Spain, to succeed him in the government. On the ninth day from the commencement of his illness, he departed from this life, to the great grief of all the colonists, particularly the military, as he certainly intended to have redressed all abuses, and to have rewarded us according to our merits. He was of a gay disposition, and fond of music; and it is said that his attendants, while his illness was at the height, brought a lute player into his apartment, in hopes of soothing his distress. While a favourite air was playing, he was said to have beat time with perfect accuracy, and expired just when the tune was finished.

4 Immediately

Immediately on his death, the enemies of Cortes in Mexico circulated the most malignant slanders against him, even going the length of asserting that he said Sandoval had poisoned the governor as he had before done with Garay. The most busy in propagating this malicious report was the Prior Ortiz. But the truth was, that the vessel which brought the governor and his suite from Spain was infected with the disease of which he died; above a hundred of the crew and passengers having died at sea or soon after landing; among whom almost all the friars who came out at that time were carried off, and the contagion spread through the city of Mexico. Some of the principal people in Mexico objected against the appointment which the late governor had made of a successor; alleging that Macos de Aguilar was only a bachelor and not a licentiate, and therefore incapable of acting in that capacity. The cabildo of Mexico insisted that Aguilar was incapable of executing the high office to which De Leon had appointed him, on account of his age and infirmities; as he was a diseased hectic old man, who was obliged to drink goats milk, and to be suckled by a woman to keep him alive; they recommended therefore that Cortes should be associated with him in the government: But Aguilar insisted on adhering strictly to the testament of his predecessor; and Cortes for substantial private reasons, was entirely averse from taking any share in the authority. The enemies of Cortes insisted on the inquiry proceeding in the manner intended by the late governor; and Cortes readily assented to this, providing the new governor would take the responsibility on himself for acting contrary to the testament of his predecessor, who had left orders for him not to proceed with the business before the court, but that the whole should be laid before his majesty.

It is now proper to revert to our situation who had been left at Naco, when Cortes set sail from Truxillo for the Havanna and Mexico. We remained for some time at Naco, waiting intelligence for the sailing of Cortes, which Sandoval was to have sent us; but Saavedra maliciously suppressed the letters. Becoming impatient after a considerable delay, our captain, Luis Marin, sent ten of the cavalry, among whom I was, to Truxillo to learn the truth. On our arrival at a place named Olancho, we learned from some Spaniards that Cortes was sailed; which information was soon afterwards confirmed by a message from Saavedra. We return-

ed therefore joyfully to Marin, and set out for Mexico, throwing stones at the country we were quitting, as a mark of our dislike. At a place called Maniani, we met five soldiers commanded by Diego de Villaneuva, one of our brave veterans, who were sent in search of us by Alvarado, who was at a place not far distant, named *Cholulteca Malalaca*, where we joined him in two days, and where we were likewise joined by a party belonging to Pedro Arias de Avilla, who had sent some of his captains to adjust some disputed boundaries with Alvarado. From this place, where we remained three days, Alvarado sent one Gaspar Arias de Avilla to treat on some confidential business with Pedro Arias, I believe relative to a marriage; for Pedro Arias seemed much devoted henceforwards to Alvarado. Continuing our march through a hostile country, the natives killed one of our soldiers, and wounded three; but we were too much in haste to punish them as they deserved. Farther on in Guatimala, the natives manned the passes against us, and we were detained three days in forcing our way through, on which occasion I received a slight wound. While in the valley where the city of Guatimala has been since built, and all the people of which were hostile, we had a number of shocks of an earthquake, all of which continued a long while, and were so violent that several of our soldiers were thrown down. On passing old Guatimala, the natives assembled against us in hostile array, but we drove them before us, and took possession of their magnificent dwellings and quadrangles for the night, and hutted ourselves next day on the plain, where we remained ten days. During this time Alvarado summoned the neighbouring Indians to submit, but they neglected to appear. We then proceeded by long marches to Olintepec, where Alvarados main force was stationed, whence we proceeded by Soconuzco and Teguantepec towards Mexico, losing two soldiers on our march, and the Mexican lord named Juan Velasquez, who had been a chief under Guatimotzin.

On our arrival at Oaxaca, we learned the news of the death of Ponce de Leon the governor. We pressed forward to Mexico, and on our arrival at Chalco sent messengers to inform Cortes of our approach, and to request he would provide us with good quarters, having been two years and three months absent on our expedition. Cortes, attended by many gentlemen on horseback, met us on the causeway

and

and accompanied us into the city, where we immediately went to the great church to return thanks to GOD for our arrival, after which we went to the generals palace, where a sumptuous entertainment was provided for us. Alvarado went to reside at the fortress, of which he had been appointed alcalde. Luis Marin went to lodge with Sandoval; and Captain Luis Sanchez and I, were taken by Andres de Tapia to his house. Cortes and Sandoval and all our other friends sent us presents of gold and cacao to bear our expences[2]. Next day, my friend Sanchez and I went to wait upon the new governor Aguilar, accompanied by Sandoval and De Tapia. We were received with much politeness, saying he would have done every thing in his power for us, if so authorised, but every thing having been referred by De Leon to his majesty, he was unable to make any new arrangements.

At this time Diego de Ordas arrived from Cuba, who was said to have circulated the report of our deaths; but he declared that he had only sent an account of the unfortunate catastrophe of Xicalonga as it really happened, and that the misrepresentation proceeded entirely from the factor Salazar. Cortes had so much business on his hands that he thought proper to drop this affair, and endeavoured to recover his property which had been disposed of under the supposition of his death. A great part of it had been expended in celebrating his funeral obsequies, and in the purchase of perpetual masses for his soul; but, on his being discovered to be alive, had been repurchased by one Juan Caceres for his own benefit when he might happen to die, so that Cortes could not recover his property. Ordas, who was a man of much experience, seeing that Cortes was fallen much into neglect since he was superseded from the government, advised him to assume more state and consequence to maintain the respect due to him: But such was his native plainness of manners, that he never wished to be called otherwise than simply *Cortes*; a

2 It may be proper to remark in this place, that the cacao nuts were used by the Mexicans before the conquest as a medium for purchases of small value instead of money, and the practice was continued under the Spanish dominion, as the markets were supplied by the original natives. Clavigero, I. 386. says that the Mexicans used five substitutes for money. 1. Cacao, which they counted by *xiquipils*, or in sacks containing each three xiquipils, or 24,000 nuts. 2. Small cotton cloths, called *patolquachtli*. 3. Gold dust in goose quills. 4. Pieces of copper in the form of the letter T. 5. Thin pieces of tin.—E.

a truly noble name, as glorious as those of Cesar, Pompey, or Hanibal among the ancients. Ordas likewise informed Cortes of a current report in Mexico, that he intended to put Salazar privately to death in prison, and warned him that he was powerfully patronized. About this time, the treasurer Estrada married one of his daughters to Jorge de Alvarado, and another to Don Luis de Guzman, son to the Conde de Castellar. Pedro de Alvarado went over to Spain to solicit the government of Guatimala, sending in the meantime his brother Jorge to reduce that province, with a force chiefly composed of the warriors of the different nations that were in our alliance. The governor also sent a force against the province of Chiapa, under the command of Don Juan Enriquez de Guzman, a near relation to the Duke of Medina Sidonia: And an expedition was sent against the Zapotecan mountaineers, under Alonzo de Herrera, one of our veteran soldiers.

Having lingered about eight months, Marcos de Aguilar died, and appointed by his testament Alonzo de Estrada the treasurer to succeed him in the government: But the Cabildo of Mexico and many of the principal Spaniards were very solicitous that Cortes should be associated in the government; and on his peremptory refusal, they recommended that Sandoval, who was then alguazil-major, should act in conjunction with Estrada, which accordingly was the case. The incompetence of Estrada for conducting the government in the present conjuncture, particularly appeared from the following circumstance. Nuno de Guzman, who had held the government of Panuco for two years, conducted himself in a furious and tyrannical manner, arbitrarily extending the bounds of his jurisdiction on the most frivolous pretences, and putting to death all who dared to oppose his commands. Among these, Pedro Gonzalez de Truxillo, having asserted truly that his district was dependent on Mexico, Guzman immediately ordered him to be hanged. He put many other Spaniards to death, merely to make himself feared; and set the authority of the governor of Mexico at defiance. Some of the enemies of Cortes persuaded Estrada to represent to the court of Spain, that he had been compelled by the influence of Cortes to associate Sandoval with himself in the government, contrary to his inclination, and to the detriment of his majesties service. By the same conveyance, a string of malevolent falsehoods were transmitted against the general; as that he had poisoned Garay, De Leon, and Aguilar; that he had endeavoured

endeavoured to administer arsenic in cheesecakes to a great number of people at a feast; that he was plotting the deaths of the veedor and factor Chirinos and Salazar, then in jail; and that he had procured the death of his wife, Donna Catalina. All these lies were supported by the industry of the contador Albornos, then in Spain: And, in consequence of these gross falsehoods, Cortes was partly judged unheard; as orders were sent to release Salazar and Chirinos; and Pedro de la Cueva, commendator-major of Alcantara, was ordered to go out to Mexico with an escort of three hundred soldiers at the expence of Cortes, with authority to put Cortes to death if his guilt were proved, and to distribute his property among the veteran conquerors of Mexico. This was to have been done, however, under the authority of a court of royal audience, which was to be sent out to Mexico; but all ended in nothing; as neither De la Cueva nor the court of royal audience made their appearance.

Estrada was greatly elated by the countenance he received at court, which he attributed to his being considered as a natural son of the Catholic king. He disposed of governments at his pleasure, and carried every thing with a high hand. At this time he sent his relation Mazoriejos to inquire into the conduct of Don Juan Enriquez de Guzman in Chiapa, who is said to have made more plunder there than was proper. He sent also a force against the Zapotecas and Mixtecas, under the command of one De Barrios, said to be a brave soldier who had served in Italy. I do not mean De Barrios of Seville, the brother-in-law of Cortes. This officer marched with a hundred men against the Zapotecas; but they surprised him, one night, and slew himself and seven of his soldiers. Such was the difference between these raw half formed soldiers, who were ignorant of the stratagems of the enemy, and us the veteran conquerors. One Figuero, a particular friend of Estrada, was sent with a hundred new soldiers to the province of Oaxaca. On passing through the country of the Zapotecas, Figuero fell into a dispute with one Alonzo de Herrera, who had been sent to command there by the late governor Aguilar, in which Figuero and three soldiers were wounded. Finding himself unable for the field, and that his soldiers were unfit for expeditions among the mountains, Figuero thought proper to search for the sepulchres of the ancient chiefs, on purpose to appropriate the gold which used to be buried along with them; by which means he collected above

an hundred thousand crowns, and returned with this wealth to Mexico, leaving the province in a worse state than before. From Mexico he went to Vera Cruz, where he embarked for Spain; but he and all his wealth went to the bottom, as the vessel in which he sailed was lost in a storm. The business of subjecting these Indians was finally left for us, the veterans of Coatzacualco, who at length reduced them to submission. They used to submit during the summer, and to rebel when the torrents rendered their country inaccessible. I was on three expeditions against them; and at last the town of St Alfonso was built to keep them under subjection.

When the governor heard how his friend Figuero had been maltreated by Herrera, he sent the officers of justice to apprehend him, but he made his escape to the rocks and woods. They took a soldier named Cortejo who used to accompany him, whom they brought prisoner to Mexico, where the governor ordered his right hand to be cut off, without hearing him in his defence, although he was a gentleman. About this time also, a servant belonging to Sandoval wounded one of Estradas servants in a quarrel. The governor had him arrested, and sentenced him to have his right hand cut off. Cortes and Sandoval resided at this time in Quernavaca, partly on prudential considerations; and immediately posted off to Mexico, where he is said to have used such severe expressions to the governor as to put him in fear of his life. He called his friends about him to form a guard for his person, and immediately released Salazar and Chirinos from prison, by whose advice he issued an order for the expulsion of Cortes from Mexico. When this was represented to Cortes, he declared his readiness to obey; and since it was the will of God, that he who had gained that city at the expence of his best blood, should be banished from it by base and unworthy men, he was resolved to go immediately to Spain and demand justice from his majesty. He quitted the city instantly, and went to one of his country residences at Cojohuacan, from whence in a few days he proceeded towards the coast. Estradas lady, a person worthy of memory for her many virtues, seeing the dangerous consequences which were likely to result from this absurd and arbitrary conduct, remonstrated with her husband on the subject, reminding him of the many favours he had received from Cortes, the ingratitude with which he now repaid him, and the many powerful friends of the general. These representations are said to have induced the

the treasurer to repent sincerely of the violent steps he had taken. Just at this time, Fra Julian Garrios, the first bishop of Tlascala arrived in New Spain, who was much displeased on hearing the proceedings of the governor; and two days after his arrival in Mexico, where he was received with great pomp, he undertook to mediate a reconciliation between the governor and Cortes. Many seditious persons, knowing the dissatisfaction of Cortes, offered him their services if he would set himself up as an independant monarch in New Spain, and he even received similar offers from many persons in Mexico. He immediately arrested all of these men who were in his reach, threatening to put them to death, and wrote to inform the bishop of Tlascala of their treasonable offers. The bishop waited on Cortes, and found his conduct in every respect satisfactory, of which he sent word to Mexico; and finding that Cortes was positively determined upon going to Spain, the prelate added to his letter a severe censure from himself upon the misconduct of those who had driven him from thence.

SECTION XXII.

Narrative of Occurrences, from the Departure of Cortes to Europe till his Death.

ABOUT this time likewise, Cortes received letters from the president of the council of the Indies, the Duke of Bejar, and several others of his friends in Spain; strongly urging the necessity of his appearance at court to counteract the malignant accusations of his numerous enemies [1]. By the same conveyance, he received notice of the death of his father. Having performed funeral obsequies in memory of his father, he ordered two ships to be purchased, which he stored so abundantly with provisions of all kinds, that after his arrival in Spain the overplus might have served for a voyage of two years. I am uncertain whether Cortes returned to Mexico in order to arrange his private affairs; but he appointed several

1 According to Robertson, II. 266. Cortes took the resolution of returning into Spain to avoid exposing himself to the ignominy of a trial in Mexico, the scene of his triumphs, on hearing that a commission of inquiry into his conduct was on the point of coming out to New Spain for that purpose. Diaz almost perpetually neglects dates, in the latter part of his work especially: but we learn from Robertson that it was now the year 1528.—E.

ral agents for that purpose, the principal of whom was the licentiate Altamirano. His major-domo, Esquival, was employed in making preparations for the voyage; who, in crossing the lake to Ajotzinco in a large canoe with six Indians and a negro, having some ingots of gold in his possession, was waylaid and murdered; but the manner of his death could never be ascertained, as neither canoe, Indians, nor negro could ever be traced. The body of Esquival was found four days afterwards on a small island, half eaten by the birds of prey. There were many suspicions about this affair, some of such a nature as I cannot relate; but no great inquiry was made as to his death. Cortes appointed other persons to complete the preparations for his voyage; and offered by proclamation a free passage for all Spaniards who had license from the government to go to Spain, with a supply of provisions during the voyage. He took home with him from Mexico a great number of the curiosities of the country to present to his majesty, among which were various unknown birds, two tigers[2], many barrels of ambergris and indurated balsam, and of a kind resembling oil[3]: Four Indians who were remarkably expert in playing the stick with their feet: Some of those Indian jugglers who had a manner of appearing to fly in the air: Three hunchbacked dwarfs of extraordinary deformity: Some male and female Indians whose skins were remarkable for an extraordinary whiteness, and who had a natural defect of vision[4]. Cortes was likewise attended by several young chiefs of the Mexican and Tlascalan nations, who went over along with him into Spain at their own request[5].

Every

2 The Mexican Tiger, or Jaguar, called Tlatlauhqui ocelotl by the Mexicans, the *felis onca* of naturalists, is of a yellowish colour with cornered annular spots, which are yellow in the middle. It grows to the size of a wolf or large dog, and resembles the Bengal tiger, *felis tigris*, in craft and cruelty, but not in size or courage.—E.

3 Perhaps the Balsam of Capivi, which is of that consistence. The indurated balsam may be that of Tolu.—E.

4 These were *albinos*, an accidental or diseased variety of the human species, having chalky white skins, pure white hair, and a want of the pigmentum nigrum of the eye. The white rabbit is a plentiful example of animal albinos, which variety continues to propagate its kind.—E.

5 According to Herrera, Dec. iv. lib. iij c. 8. and lib. iv. c. 1. as quoted by Robertson, *note* cxxiv. the treasure which Cortes took over with him consisted of 1500 marks of wrought plate, 200,000 pesoes of fine gold, and 10,000 of inferior standard; besides many rich jewels, one in particular being

Every thing being in readiness for the voyage, Cortes confessed and received the sacrament, after which he embarked along with Sandoval, de Tapia, and other gentlemen; and in forty-one days arrived in Spain, where he disembarked near the town of Palos, in the month of December 1527. As soon as he set his foot on shore, he knelt down and returned thanks to God for the safety of his voyage. This fortunate voyage was soon succeeded by severe grief, in consequence of the death of the valiant Sandoval, who expired after a lingering illness in the house of a rope-maker in Palos, who robbed him in his presence of thirteen bars of gold, in the following manner: Perceiving the extreme weakness of Sandoval, he sent away all his servants on a pretended message to Cortes; and then went into Sandovals room, where he broke open his chest and took out the gold, our poor friend being too ill in bed to hinder him, and even apprehensive if he made any outcry, that the robber might take his life. As soon as he got the gold, he made his escape into Portugal, where he could not be pursued. Sandoval grew worse hourly, and as the physicians pronounced his end approaching, he prepared himself for death like a good Christian, and made his will, by which he left all his property to a sister, who afterwards married a natural son of the Conde de Medelin. Sandoval died universally regretted, and was followed to the grave by Cortes and a great train of mourners. May God pardon his sins! *Amen.*

Cortes transmitted by express, an account of his arrival and of the death of his friend Sandoval to his majesty and to his patrons at court; and when the Duke of Bejar and the Conde de Aguilar waited on his majesty on the occasion, they found him already acquainted by means of letters from Cortes, and that he had been pleased to issue orders for his being received in the most honourable manner in all the towns and cities where he might have occasion to pass. On his arrival at Seville, Cortes was entertained by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who presented him with several beautiful horses. He proceeded from thence to attend the *nine days devotion* at the shrine of our lady of Guadaloupe, where Donna Maria, the lady of the commendador Don Francisco de los Cobos, and many other ladies of high rank arrived at the same time.

being worth 40,000 pesos. The value of this enumerated treasure amounts to L.104,250 Sterling numerical value; but estimating its efficient value in those days, with Robertson, as equal to six times the present amount, it exceeds L. 600,000.—E.

time. After Cortes had performed his devotions, and given charity to the poor, he went in grand style to pay his respects to Donna Maria, her beautiful sister, and the many other ladies of distinguished rank who were along with her, where he exhibited that politeness, gallantry, and generosity, in which he surpassed all men. He presented various golden ornaments of great value to all the ladies, giving a plume of green feathers richly ornamented with gold to every one of the ladies, but his presents to Donna Maria and her sister were particularly rich and valuable. He then produced his Indian dancers and players with the stick, who astonished all the spectators. And learning that one of the mules belonging to Donna Marias sister had fallen lame, he presented her with two of the finest which could be procured. Waiting the departure of these ladies, he attended them during their journey to the court, entertaining them magnificently on all occasions, doing the honours with a grace peculiar to himself, insomuch that Donna Maria de Mendoza began to have thoughts of a marriage between her sister and Cortes, and wrote in such strains of the politeness and generosity of Cortes, that she brought over the commendador her husband entirely to his interest.

On his arrival at court, his majesty was pleased to order apartments for him, and all his friends came out to meet him on the road. Next day he went by permission to throw himself at his majestys feet, accompanied by the Duke of Bejar, the Admiral of the Indies, and the commendador of Leon. His majesty commanded him to rise, on which Cortes, after a short enumeration of his services and vindication of his conduct from the aspersions of his enemies, presented a memorial in which the whole was fully detailed. His majesty then honoured him with the title of Marquis della Valle de Oaxaca and the order of St Jago, giving him an estate for the support of his new dignity, and appointed him Captain-general of New Spain and of the South Seas. Thus loaded with honours, Cortes retired from the royal presence; and shortly afterwards falling dangerously ill, the emperor did him the honour of paying him a visit in person. One Sunday after his recovery, when the emperor was at mass in the cathedral of Toledo, seated according to custom with all the nobility in their proper stations, Cortes came there rather late, designedly as it was said, after all were seated; and, passing before all the others, took his place next the Conde

de Nasao, who sat nearest the emperor. This gave great offence to many, though some said it was done by desire of the emperor. Indeed Cortes felt his elevation so much, that he ceased to hold some of his patrons in the estimation they deserved, bestowing his whole attentions on the Duke of Bejar, the Admiral, and the Conde de Nasao. He applied likewise to the emperor to be reappointed to the government of New Spain; but, though supported in this request by his noble patrons, his majesty refused compliance, and from this time he did not seem so much in favour as before.

The emperor now proceeded on a journey to Flanders; and shortly after his departure, Cortes was married to Donna Juanna de Zuniga, on which occasion he presented his lady with the most magnificent jewels that had ever been seen in Spain. Queen Isabella, from the report of the lapidaries, expressed a wish for some similar jewels, which Cortes accordingly presented to her; but it was reported that these were not so fine or so valuable as those he had given to his lady. At this time Cortes obtained permission from the council of the Indies to fit out two ships on a voyage of discovery to the south seas, with the condition of enjoying certain privileges and revenues from all lands that were acquired through his means to the crown of Spain. Don Pedro de la Cueva, who was to have gone to Mexico with a commission to try Cortes and to put him to death if found guilty, was now upon the most intimate footing with him, and told him that even his innocence would have been sufficiently expensive, as the cost of the expedition, which he was to have paid, would have exceeded 300,000 crowns.

Cortes sent Juan de Herrada, a brave soldier who had attended him in his expedition to Honduras, to carry a rich present of gold, silver, and jewels, to his holiness Pope Clement, with an ample memorial of all the circumstances respecting the newly discovered countries; and on this occasion solicited some abatement of the tithes of New Spain. Herrada was accompanied to Rome by several of the Indians who shewed feats of agility, and with whose performances the pope and cardinals were highly diverted. His holiness, on the receipt of the letters and memorial, gave thanks to God for the opportunity of making so many thousands converts to the holy catholic faith, praising the services which Cortes and we had rendered to the church and our sovereign, and sent us bulls of indulgence, freeing us from the penalties of

our

our sins, and others for the erection of churches and hospitals; but I know not what was done in regard to the tithes. When Herrada had concluded his business at Rome, he returned to Spain with a liberal reward from the pope, who gave him the rank of Count Palatine, and strongly recommended that he should have the grant of a considerable plantation in New Spain, which he never got. After his return to America, he went to Peru, where Diego de Almagro left him in the office of governor to his son. He was high in the favour and confidence of the family and party of Almagro, with whom he served as *maestre de campo* under young Almagro, and headed the party which put to death the elder Don Francisco Pizarro.

While Cortes remained in Spain, the members of the court of royal audience arrived in Mexico. Of this court, Nuno de Guzman, who had been governor of Panuco, was president; the four *oydors* or judges being the licentiates, Matienzo, Delgadillo, Parada, and Maldonado; not the good Alonzo Maldonado who was afterwards governor of Guatimala. These magistrates had greater powers than had hitherto been confided to any officers in New Spain, being entrusted with the final distribution of landed property, in which his majesty had particularly charged them to take care of the interests of the conquerors, and they evinced from the very first a determination to do justice. Immediately after their arrival, they issued a proclamation, requiring the attendance of an agent from each settlement, and to be furnished with memorials and returns of the several districts; and the agents accordingly arrived as soon as possible. Being then in Mexico in the execution of my office of procurator-syndic of the town of Coatzacualco, I posted to that place in order to be present at the election of agents, and after a violent contest, Captain Marin and I were elected by the majority. On our arrival in Mexico, we found that two of the oydors had died of pleurisies, and that the factor Salazar had acquired so complete an ascendancy over the others that they followed his advice in every thing. The agents pressed a final distribution of lands; but Salazar persuaded the president and the two remaining oydors not hastily to part with that source of patronage, which would necessarily diminish their influence. Salazar even set out for Spain, to solicit the government for the president, Nuno de Guzman; but was shipwrecked on the coast near Coatzacualco, and had to return to Mexico.

11 Estrada

Estrada died soon after being superseded, which he owed more to his own tameness than to any right the members of the court could found on his majestys orders, which left the government entirely with him, without saying any thing of the association of Guzman; who yet usurped the sole government to himself as president. Estrada was universally regretted, as he conducted himself with perfect impartiality, and would assuredly have been supported, if he had insisted on retaining his office of governor.

A commission was appointed at Guatimala, where Jorge de Alvarado commanded, of which I never learnt the result. In Mexico the most severe proceedings were adopted against the Marquis della Valle, during which the factor Salazar reviled and slandered him in the grossest manner. The licentiate Altamirano, his friend and manager of his affairs, remonstrated with the court against these indecent proceedings, but to no purpose, as Guzman and the surviving judges gave their countenance to Salazar, who became more abusive than ever; insomuch that on one of these occasions Altamirano drew his poniard, and would have stabbed the factor, throwing the court into confusion and uproar, if he had not been prevented. Altamirano was sent prisoner to the citadel, and Salazar was ordered into arrest in his own house, and the city was thrown into an universal ferment. At the end of three days, the licentiate was liberated from confinement at our earnest desire, and the dispute was quieted for the present; but a more serious dissention succeeded. One Zavalos, a relation of Narvaez, had been sent by his wife in quest of him, as he had gone as governor to the Rio Palmas, and had not been heard of for a long while. On coming to Mexico, Zavalos, as is supposed by instigation of the members of the royal court of audience, lodged criminal information against all the soldiers of Cortes who had been concerned in the attack upon Narvaez; so that about two hundred and fifty of us, then in the city, myself among the rest, were apprehended, brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to a fine of a certain quantity of gold, and banishment to the distance of five leagues from Mexico: But the banishment was remitted and very few paid the fine.

The enemies of the marquis took a new ground of attack, alleging that he had embezzled the treasure of Montezuma and Guatimotzin, and was answerable to the soldiers both for what he had appropriated to his own use, and for that

which

which had been sent to Spain as a present to his majesty and had been captured by Florin the French corsair. A long list of other demands followed, on every one of which he was found liable, and his property was sold under executions for the payment. At this time likewise, Juan Suarez the brother of Donna Catalina, the first wife of Cortes, charged him with her murder, offering to produce witnesses of the manner of her death. Many of us the veteran conquerors, who were the friends of Cortes, seeing the harsh manner in which he was treated, met by appointment at the house of Garcia Holguin, under the license of an alcalde or judge of police, where we entered into a resolution to renounce all our claims to the treasure: But when the judges of the royal tribunal heard of our proceedings, they ordered us all to be arrested for an illegal meeting; and though we produced the license under which our meeting was held, they again banished us five leagues from Mexico; but we were allowed to return. A proclamation was issued about this time, that all persons of Moorish descent, or from those who had been burned or *san-benited* [6] by the holy tribunal, as far as the fourth generation, should quit New Spain within four months, under the penalty of losing half their property. Vast numbers of informers and accusers started up on this occasion, by which an infinite number of most infamous slanders were propagated; and yet after all only two individuals were expelled.

The court was generous in fulfilling the royal commands respecting the veteran conquerors, who were all amply provided for; but they granted an excessive license in regard to the branding of slaves, in consequence of which so many were made in the province of Panuco that it became almost depopulated. Guzman made a new-years-gift to Albornos, who was newly returned to Spain, of the whole district of Guazpaltepec. Albornos brought with him a royal patent for erecting some sugar-works at Chempoalla, which soon went to ruin. The oydor Delgadillo was much censured for his *free gifts*, as it was observed he always reserved some rents to himself, and the consequent extortions and oppressions of those he patronized were excessive. The other oydor Matienzo was superannuated. The abuses of the members of this supreme

6 Those who had worn the *san benito*, or penal dress, in an *auto de fe*. In the original translation the *descendants of Indians* are included in this proscription, which certainly must be an error.—E.

supreme court became at length so notorious, that other members of more discretion were sent out to supersede them. Old Matienzo, who was the least exceptionable, was sent to Panuco to inquire into and remedy the abuses committed in that province; where he revoked the grants made by the president and Delgadillo to their friends and clients, bestowing the plantations on those who were pointed out by the royal instructions; but all those who were desired to deliver up their plantations endeavoured to bring proof that they had been granted in reward of former services, disclaiming all favour or patronage from Guzman or Delgadillo, and most of them succeeded in keeping what they had got, the only persons deprived being Albornos of his new-years-gift, Villareal, and Villegas.

When the members of the royal tribunal understood that they were to be superseded, they resolved to send agents to Spain, provided with witnesses and documents to vouch for the propriety of their conduct; and for this purpose all the veteran conquerors and other persons of distinction were convened in the great church, to choose an agent for our interest. The president and judges of the royal tribunal recommended Salazar the factor; and though they had committed some improprieties, as they had in the main done us justice in the *repartimientos*, or distribution of property and vassals, we were all disposed to vote for the person they recommended; but when we had assembled in the church, so many persons had crowded in who had no right, making a prodigious noise and confusion, that we could not proceed to business; and though all who had not been summoned were ordered to withdraw, they refused and insisted to vote as well as the others. We therefore adjourned to the next day, at the house of the president; and none being admitted but those summoned, the business was soon amicably adjusted by agreement with the members of the royal audience, and two agents were chosen. One, named Antonio de Carvajal, for the court; and Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia, for Cortes and the conquerors. In my opinion, both of these were equally devoted to the views of the president; but this was natural on our part, as Guzman had done much more for us during his short administration, than Cortes during all the period of his power. Yet we were always more attached to Cortes, who had been our commander, than he was to our interest, notwithstanding that he had his majestys orders to provide for us;

of

of which the following is a striking proof. The president and judges used their influence with us to petition his majesty that Cortes might never be permitted to return to New Spain, under pretence that his presence might occasion factions and disturbances, tending to the loss of the country. We opposed this to the utmost of our power; and as Alvarado arrived at this time from Spain with the commission of governor and lieutenant-general of Guatimala, and decorated with a commandery of St Jago, he and the friends of Cortes agreed to lay a statement of every thing before his majesty, giving a clear developement of the views and conduct of the members of the royal audience. From this it appeared to the royal council of the Indies, that all the measures they had taken against Cortes were dictated by passion and interest, and the determination of recalling the present members of the audience was thereby confirmed. The presence of Cortes in Spain at this time was also highly favourable to his interests, and he was now rapidly advancing to the pinnacle of his fortune.

As Guzman was now quite certain of being superseded, he determined upon an expedition into the province of Xalisco, now called New Gallicia [7]. For this purpose he collected a large military force, partly of volunteers, and partly by the influence of his supreme authority, obliging those who did not serve personally to find substitutes, and those who had horses to sell them for half value. He took with him likewise a considerable number of Mexicans, partly as soldiers, and others to carry the baggage. In this expedition, he cruelly oppressed the provinces through which he passed, that he might amass riches. From Mechoacan [8] he obtained a large quantity of gold much alloyed with silver, which the inhabitants had been collecting for ages; and as the unfortunate prince or cacique of that country was unable to gratify his avarice sufficiently, he had him tortured in the first place, and afterwards hanged on some false or trifling allegations, to the great displeasure of all the Spaniards in his army, who considered it as the cruellest and most unjust action ever committed

7 New Gallicia, to the northwest of Mexico and upon the Pacific Ocean, is now included in the *Intendencia* of Guadalaxara, and appears to have been named Colima by the Mexicans.—E.

8 Mechoacan, to the west of Mexico and reaching to the south sea, forms now the Intendency of Valladolid.—E.

mitted in New Spain. All the booty which he had made in this expedition was collected at the town of Compostello, which he founded at a heavy expence to the crown and to the inhabitants of Mexico, and he remained in this place until his arrest.

In consequence of the injustice of the former court of audience, his majesty was pleased to suppress it, and to cancel all its grants, and to appoint a new one consisting of wise and upright men. Of this new tribunal, Don Sebastian Ramirez, bishop of St Domingo was president, and the oydors or judges were the licentiates Maldonado de Salamanca, Vaco de Quiroga y Madrigal, afterwards bishop of Mechoacan, Zaynos de Toro, and Solomon de Madrid. On commencing their sittings, such crowds of complainants of all descriptions, settlers, agents, and native chiefs from every city, town, and district of New Spain made application for redress against the partiality and oppression of the former court, that the members were quite astonished. The demands made by the agents of Cortes for what had been unjustly taken from him, amounted to above 200,000 crowns. As Nuno de Guzman was absent, the whole blame was laid upon him by the other members of the former tribunal, who alleged that they were compelled to act according to his orders. He was accordingly summoned to appear, which he did not think proper to do, and it was judged proper to refer the whole affair for the present to the supreme court in Spain. Accordingly, one Torre, a licentiate, was sent with full powers from Spain to Xalisco, having orders to transmit Guzman to Mexico, and to commit him to prison. Torre was also commissioned to indemnify us for the fines which had been imposed on us respecting the affair of Narvaez.

The properties of Delgadillo and Martienzo, were sold to pay the damages of those who had gained causes against them, and their persons imprisoned for the deficiency. A brother of Delgadillo, who was alcalde-major in Oaxaca, and another who was alcalde among the Zapotecas, were fined and imprisoned for the same reason, and died in jail. Delgadillo and Martienzo returned afterwards to Spain in poverty, where they soon died. The new judges were wise and just, regulating their conduct entirely according to the will of God and the king, and shewing a laudable zeal for the protection and conversion of the Indians. They prohibited all branding of the natives for slaves, and made many other excellent regulations.

In about four years, Solomon and Zaynos, two of the judges, being old and wealthy, petitioned for leave to retire. The president also was ordered to repair to Europe, to give an account of the affairs of New Spain. He was then bishop of St Domingo, having been formerly inquisitor in Seville. After his return to Spain, he was advanced successively to the bishopricks of Toro, Leon, and Cuença, with astonishing rapidity, and was also made president of the royal chancery in Valladolid. The good conduct of the *oydor* Maldonado was rewarded by the government of Guatimala, Honduras, and Veragua, and the title of *adelantado* or lieutenant governor of Yucutan. The other judge, Quiroga de Madrigal, obtained the bishoprick of Mechoacan. Such were the rewards of these just judges!

His majesty was pleased to appoint Don Antonio de Mendoza viceroy of New Spain. This most illustrious nobleman, worthy of all praise, was brother to the Marquis of Montejar. Along with him there came out as oydors or judges of the court of audience, the doctor Quesada, and the licentiates Tejada de Logrono and Loaysa. The latter was an old man who staid only three or four years in Mexico, where he collected a good deal of money, and then returned home to Spain. Santilana, another licentiate came out at the same time, appointed to succeed Maldonado as oydor when he might vacate his office. All were excellent magistrates. On opening their court, they gave leave to every one to make objections against the conduct of their predecessors; but which was found on inquiry to have been perfectly right. When the viceroy Mendoza arrived, as he knew that the licentiate Torre had orders to arrest Nuno de Guzman, he invited him to Mexico, meaning to save him from insult, and gave him apartments in the palace, where he was treated with all respect. But Torre, who had orders to communicate his commission to the viceroy, not finding himself countenanced in the strong measures he was inclined to pursue, and being naturally violent, arrested Guzman in the palace and carried him to the common prison, saying that he acted by royal authority. Guzman remained several days in custody, but was at length released at the intercession of the viceroy. The licentiate was much addicted to cards, particularly at the games of *triumpho* and primero, on which circumstance one of Guzmans friends played him the following trick to hold him up to ridicule. The civilians at that time wore gowns with loose hanging

hanging sleeves, into one of which some wag contrived to convey a pack of cards, so that when Torre was walking across the great square of Mexico in company with several persons of quality, the cards began to drop from his sleeve, leaving a long trail behind him as he walked along. On discovering the trick, which was heartily laughed at, he became very much enraged; and either from vexation or the influence of the climate, he died soon after of a *calenture* or burning fever, by which the affair of Guzman was respited.

Cortes having now been long in Spain, advanced to the dignity of marquis, captain-general of New Spain, and admiral of the south sea, being anxious to revisit his estates in New Spain, embarked with his family and twelve fathers of the order of mercy. On his arrival at Vera Cruz, he was by no means so honourably received as formerly, and went from thence to Mexico, to present his patents to the viceroy and to take possession of his offices. Considerable difficulty occurred in regard to the interpretation of the royal grant of towns and lands to the marquis, which I do not pretend to understand. The grant, in mentioning the districts which were granted to him, enumerated the *vicinos* or neighbours who were considered as belonging to it and as constituting his vassals. Cortes insisted that the head person only of each family was to be considered as the *vicino* or vassal; but the Doctor Quesada, who was deputed to allot his districts, contended that every adult male in a family, master, son, servant, or slave, was to be reckoned in the number of the *vicinos*. The marquis was much disappointed by this interpretation, as there were often twelve or fifteen of these in one household or family, which would have prodigiously reduced his revenue, and several lawsuits ensued in consequence. This matter was reported for his majesties determination, and continued for several years in suspence, during which the marquis received his full rents without hindrance: But finding the great diminution of his importance in the country which he had subdued, by the appointment of a viceroy, he retired to Quernavaca, where he established his residence, being on his own estate, never returning to Mexico. While Marcos de Aguilar held the government of New Spain, Cortes caused four ships to be fitted out at Zacatula on the south sea, under the command of Alvarado de Saavedra, and provided with various articles of merchandize, for a voyage to China and the Molucca or spice islands. He was likewise directed to look out for

for a squadron which had sailed from Spain for China, commanded by Don Garcia de Loaysa, a commander of the order of St John at Rhodes [9]. While Saavedra was preparing for his expedition, a vessel belonging to the squadron of Loaysa arrived at Zacatula, from the pilot and crew of which he acquired all the information he wished. Taking with him the pilot and two sailors of this ship, Saavedra proceeded on his voyage in December 1527 or 1528, and sustained many misfortunes and hardships on the way to the Moluccas. I do not know the particulars of this voyage: But, about three years afterwards, I met a sailor who had sailed in this expedition, who told me many strange things respecting the cities and nations he had seen. I also heard that the Portugueze had captured Saavedra and several of his people, whom they had sent prisoners to Europe. After his return to New Spain the marquis sent two ships, in May 1532, from Acapulco, commanded by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, to make discoveries in the south sea. One of his ships mutinied and returned to New Spain, to the great mortification of Cortes, and Hurtado was never heard of afterwards. After this, Cortes sent out two other vessels, one commanded by Diego Bezerra de Mendoza, and the other by Hernando de Grijalva. The first night after their departure from Tehuantepec, they were separated in a gale of wind and never joined again, Grijalva being well pleased to escape from under the command of Bezerra, who was of a haughty temper; and besides, Grijalva was desirous to take the merit of any discoveries he might make to himself. After sailing 200 leagues, he came to an uninhabited island, which he named St Thomas. Bezerra made himself so odious by his domineering disposition, that his pilot Ximenes entered into a plot for his assassination, which he carried into effect, and took the command of the vessel. Continuing the voyage, he discovered an island which he named Santa Cruz, which was inhabited by savages, and where he set on shore two Franciscan friars and several persons who had refused to join in the mutiny. Being in want of water, he went at the same time on shore for that purpose; but he and all who landed were put to death by the savages

9 For the information of some readers, it may be proper to observe, that the order of St John of Jerusalem, lately known by the name of the order of Malta, then resided at Rhodes.—E.

savages within view of the ship. After this misfortune the survivors returned to New Spain.

The Marquis del Valle was so much vexed by these disappointments that he resolved to go in person upon discovery, with three ships which he had ready for launching at Teguantepec. When the Spaniards learnt that he meant to embark on a voyage of discovery, they thought that success was quite certain, and great numbers resolved to accompany him. Above 320 persons, including women, offered their services, as there were above 130 of them married men, who brought their wives along with them. Leaving Teguantepec in May 1536 or 1537, accompanied by Andres de Tapia and several other officers, with some ecclesiastics, physicians and surgeons, and as many colonists as the vessels could contain, he sailed for the island of Santa Cruz, where he arrived after a prosperous voyage, and sent back the ships to bring over the remainder of the people [10]. The second voyage was not so fortunate, as they separated in a gale of wind near the river of St Peter and St Paul, one only of the ships arriving at the island of Santa Cruz, where the marquis anxiously expected them, as provisions were growing scarce. One of the other vessels, which contained the provisions, was stranded on the coast of Xalisco, whence most of the people returned to New Spain. The other vessel came to a bay which the people named Guayaval, from the quantity of *guayavas* which they found there. During this time, the marquis and his people were experiencing extreme distress on the uncultivated island of Santa Cruz, twenty-three of the soldiers dying of famine, and the rest sinking daily, and cursing his expeditions and discoveries. Taking fifty soldiers with him in the ship which had arrived, he went in search of the other two; and after some considerable search he found one stranded, as already mentioned, on the coast of Xalisco, and abandoned by the people, and met the other among some rocks. Having repaired these vessels, he brought them with a quantity of provisions to Santa Cruz, where his famished colonists eat so voraciously that half of them died. Anxious to quit this scene of misery, the marquis embarked from Santa Cruz, and, continuing his project of discoveries, fell in with the land of California, heartily tired of his fruitless pursuit, yet unwilling to return

10 Santa Cruz is a small island in the Vermilion sea, on the eastern coast of California, in lat. 25° 23′ N. lon. 110° 47′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

return to New Spain without effecting some important discovery. When the Marchioness del Valle had notice of the loss of one of the vessels, she became very apprehensive of her husbands safety, and fitted out two ships to go in search of the marquis and his unfortunate colonists. These sailed under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, who carried letters from the marchioness and the viceroy, requesting the return of Cortes to New Spain. Ulloa had the good fortune to fall in with Cortes, who suffered himself to be prevailed on, and returned to New Spain by way of Acapulco, leaving Ulloa to command the squadron. His return rejoiced the Spaniards, who were always afraid the natives chiefs might revolt, when not awed by his presence. The people whom he left in California returned soon afterwards; but whether they were so ordered by the government I know not.

After a few months, the Marquis fitted out other two ships, which he sent upon discovery under the command of Ulloa, who sailed from the port of Navidad in the month of June, but I forget the year. Ulloa had orders to explore the coast of California, and to search for Hurtado, who had never been heard of. After an absence of seven months, Ulloa returned to Xalisco, without having effected any discovery of importance; and was assassinated a few days afterwards on shore by a soldier who bore him a grudge. Thus ended the projected discoveries of the Marquis del Valle, in which I have heard him say that he expended above 300,000 crowns. He never prospered after his first conquest of New Spain; and his bad fortune was ascribed to the curses of his companions, for having treated them so ill in the distribution of the property acquired by their bravery. He now determined on going to Spain, in order to solicit an allowance from his majesty for the expences he had been at in these voyages, as also to endeavour to end the dispute concerning the vassals of his estates in New Spain, and to procure restitution of the property which had been seized from him by Nuno de Guzman, who was now a prisoner in Castille.

After the departure of the Marquis, the viceroy and court of audience sent a military force from Xalisco by land to the north west, under the command of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, who married the beautiful and virtuous daughter of the treasurer Estrada. Coronado left his government of Xalisco under the charge of an officer named Onate, and marched in- to

to the country named *Celibola* [11] or the Seven Cities; whence he sent a Franciscan friar, named Marcos de Nica, to Mexico, to give the viceroy an account of the country. He described it as consisting of fine plains, with great herds of cattle quite different from those of Europe; having populous towns, in which the houses were of two stories with stairs. He also represented that it lay on the coast of the south sea, by means of which necessaries and reinforcements could be easily sent to the Spanish force. Accordingly, three ships were sent for that purpose, under the command of Hernando de Alarco, an officer belonging to the household of the viceroy.

In the year 1537, Don Pedro de Alvarado fitted out a great armament of thirteen vessels from the port of *Acaxatla* [12] on the south sea, in consequence of a license from his majesty, in which he had a grant of certain rents and advantages in such countries as he might discover; that is to say, in China and the Moluccas or Spice Islands. As the port where this armament was fitted out was above 200 leagues from Vera Cruz, whence all the iron and most other articles had to be carried by land, its cost might easily have fitted out eighty such vessels from Old Spain. All the wealth which Alvarado brought from Peru [13], together with what he had got from the mines in Guatimala, with the rents of his estates, and rich presents from his friends and relations, were insufficient for his preparations on this occasion, although all the merchandize was procured on credit. Great as was the expence of the ships, it was far exceeded by that of his army, consisting of 650 soldiers with their officers, and a number of horses, as a good horse at that time cost 300 crowns. Alvarado sailed some time in the year 1538 for the harbour of *Navidad* near the city of *Purification*, in the province of Xalisco, or New Galicia, where he meant to take in water, and to embark more soldiers. When the viceroy heard of this great armament, he became desirous to have a share in it, and went to Navidad to view the fleet, whence he and Alvarado

11 This appears to be the country now called Cinaloa, or Culiacan. The strange appellation of the *seven cities* seems to have reference to that fancied ancient Spanish colony which has been formerly spoken of in the introduction to the discovery of Columbus.—E.

12 This name, which is not to be found in any map, is probably a mistake for Zacatula, in lat. 18° N. on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, W.S.W. from Mexico.—E.

13 The expedition of Alvarado to Peru will be related in the subsequent chapter. Diaz merely gives this slight hint on the subject.—E.

rado returned to Mexico. Alvarado wished to have a relation of his own named Juan appointed to have the command of this expedition, while the viceroy was desirous to have another officer, named Villalobos, joined in command with Juan Alvarado. On his return to the port of Navidad, and when just ready to sail, Alvarado received a letter from Onate, who had been left in the command of the province of Xalisco, earnestly entreating his immediate assistance, as he and the settlement were threatened with destruction by the Indians of Cochitlan. Alvarado, who was always zealous in his majestys service, marched immediately with his troops to their relief, and found them in a most desperate situation. The insurgents rather diminished in the violence of their attacks on the arrival of Alvarado, but hostilities were still continued; and one day, as Alvarado was following the enemy among some rocky mountains, a soldier on horseback, who was at a considerable height above him on the steep side of a mountain, came rolling down above him, horse and all, by which he was so much bruised, that soon after his removal to the town of the Purification, he was seized with fainting-fits, and expired in a few days. On the news of Alvarados death being known to his fleet and army, many of the people returned to their homes with what they had received. The viceroy sent off the licentiate Maldonado to prevent confusion as much as possible, whom he followed soon after to take the charge of the remaining soldiers, with whom he marched against the insurgents, and after a tedious and difficult warfare of some continuance, reduced them to submission.

The loss of Alvarado was severely felt in his family, and his memory was long held in high esteem through all New Spain. On receiving the fatal intelligence in Guatimala, the worthy bishop Maroguin and all his clergy celebrated his obsequies with much honour, and his major-domo caused the walls of his house to be painted black, which colour has remained ever since. Many gentlemen waited on Donna Beatrix de la Cueva, his lady, to console her for her loss. They advised her to give God thanks, since it was his will to take her husband to himself. Like a good Christian, she assented to this sentiment, yet said that she now wished to leave this melancholy world and all its misfortunes. The historian Gomara has falsely said that she spoke blasphemously on this occasion, saying that God could now do her no more injury; and injuriously ascribes the subsequent misfortune which befel

fel her to these words which she did not utter. A deluge of mud and water burst forth from the volcano near Guatimala, which overwhelmed the house in which she was praying along with her women. Although Alvarado and his four brothers had served his majesty with much zeal, no part of his property descended to his children, and the whole family was peculiarly unfortunate. Don Pedro died, as I have already related, by an uncommon accident in Cochitlan, or Culiacan. His brother Jorge died in Madrid in 1540, while soliciting his majesty for a recompence of his services. Gomes de Alvarado died in Peru. Gonzalo in Mexico or Oaxaca, I am uncertain which. Juan on his voyage to Cuba. The eldest son of Don Pedro, while on a voyage along with his relation the younger Juan, to solicit a recompence for his fathers services, was lost at sea. Don Diego, the younger son, seeing the fortunes of the family desperate, returned to Peru, where he died in battle. Donna Beatrix [14], the lady of Don Pedro, with the female part of the family, were destroyed, as before related, by a torrent from a volcano, one of his daughters only excepted, Donna Leonora, who was saved from the torrent, and has caused two sepulchres to be built in the great church of Guatimala, to receive the bones of her relations. May our Lord Jesus take them all with him into glory! *Amen.*

About a year after the death of Don Pedro Alvarado, the viceroy sent the best of his ships under Villalobos to make discoveries to the westwards of the Pacific Ocean; but with what success I never learnt. No part of the expences of this armament were ever recovered by any of the descendants of Alvarado.

As the Marquis del Valle was in Spain at the time of the expedition against Algiers, he attended his majesty on that occasion, along with his legitimate son Don Martinez, and Don Martin the son he had by Donna Marina. The fleet was dispersed in a storm, and the ship on board of which the marquis had embarked was stranded, on which occasion he,

14 In the *sixth* section of this chapter, it has been already mentioned that Don Pedro Alvarado was married to *Donna Luisa* the daughter of Xicotencatl, one of the princes or chiefs of Tlascala, through whom he acquired a great inheritance, and by whom he had a son Don Pedro, and a daughter Donna Leonora, married to Don Francisco de la Cueva, cousin to the Duke of Albuquerque, by whom she had four or five sons. The widow of Don Pedro destroyed in Guatimala, seems to have been a second wife.—E.

his sons, and his suite, got on shore with much difficulty. On this occasion he tied a quantity of rich jewels, which he used to wear like other great lords *for no use*, in a handkerchief round his arm, but they were all lost. On account of this disaster to the fleet, the council of war was of opinion that the siege ought to be immediately raised. The marquis was not called to this council; but it has been said that, if present, he would have declared for continuing the siege, and if he had been so fortunate as to command there such brave soldiers as those who accompanied him to Mexico, he would have entertained no doubt of success.

The marquis was now grown old and worn out by long and severe fatigue, and was anxious to have returned to New Spain, to settle his affairs: But he waited the celebration of a marriage, between his eldest daughter Donna Maria and Don Alvaro Pinez Osorio, son and heir to the Marquis of Astorga, and had agreed to give his daughter a fortune of 100,000 ducats. He had sent to bring over his daughter from Mexico, and had even gone himself to Seville to meet her; but the match was broke off, as is said by the fault of Don Alvaro. Cortes was much disappointed at this, and as his health was already in a bad state, he declined so rapidly, that he retired to Castileja de la Cuesta, to attend to the concerns of his soul, and to make his testament. Having arranged all his affairs, both for this and the next world, he departed this life on the 2d of December 1547. He was buried with great pomp in the chapel of the dukes of Medina Sidonia; but, according to his will, his remains were afterwards removed to Cojohuacan or Tezcuco in New Spain, I am uncertain which. By his latter will, he left funds for the endowment of an hospital in Mexico, and a nunnery in his own town of Cojohuacan. In 1519, when we went along with him from Cuba against Mexico, he used to tell us that he was then thirty-four years old; and as he died 28 years afterwards, he must have been exactly 62 at his death. The arms granted to him by his majesty, when he was created a marquis, were the heads of seven kings surrounded by a chain, implying Montezuma, Cacamatzin, Guatimotzin, Tulapa, Coadlavaca, and the princes of Tacuba and Cojohuacan. The motto, as I have been told, was well adapted to a valiant warrior; but being in Latin, which I do not understand, I say nothing on that subject.

The Marquis del Valle de Oaxaca, was strong built, and of

of a good stature, with a rather pale complexion and serious countenance. His features were rather small, with mild and grave eyes. His hair and beard were black and thin. His breast and shoulders were broad, and his body thin. He was well-limbed, his legs being somewhat bent. He was an excellent horseman, and very dexterous in the use of arms; and he also had the heart and mind of valour, which is the principal part of that business. I have heard that, when young, he was very wild about women, and had several duels in Hispaniola on that account with able swordsmen, in all of which he came off victorious: But he received a wound near his under lip on one of these occasions, the scar of which could be seen through his beard when closely examined. In his appearance, manners, behaviour, conversation, table, and dress, every thing corresponded to a man of high rank; and, although his clothes always corresponded to the fashion of the times, he was not fond of silks, damasks, or velvets; but wore every thing plain and handsome. Instead of large chains of gold in which some delighted, he was satisfied with a small chain of exquisite workmanship, to which was appended a gold medal of the Virgin and child Jesus, with a Latin motto, and on the reverse St John the Baptist and another motto. On his finger he wore a very fine diamond ring; and in his cap, which was of velvet, he bore a gold medal, the head and motto of which I have forgot: But, in his latter days, he wore a plain cloth cap without ornament.

His table was always magnificently served and attended, having four major-domos or principal officers, with many pages, and a great quantity of massy plate both of gold and silver. He dined heartily about mid-day, drinking only about half a pint of wine mixed with water. He was not nice or expensive in his food, except on particular occasions, where he saw it to be proper. He was exceedingly affable with all his captains and soldiers, especially those who accompanied him at first from Cuba; yet practised the strictest attention to military discipline, constantly going the rounds himself in the night, and visiting the quarters of the soldiers, severely reprehending all whom he found without their armour or appointments, and not ready to turn out at a moments warning, saying, "It is a bad sheep that cannot carry its own wool." He was a Latin scholar, and as I have been told, a bachelor of laws, a good rhetorician, and something even of a poet. He was very devote to the Holy Virgin,

and

and to St Peter, St James, and St John the Baptist. His oath was, "By my conscience." When angry with any of his friends, he used to say, "may you repent it;" and when in great warmth, the veins of his throat and forehead used to swell much, but he then never spoke. He was very patient under insults or injuries, as the soldiers were sometimes very rude and abusive; yet he never resented their conduct, only saying, "Be silent," or, "Go in Gods name, and do not repeat this or I shall have you punished." In all matters of war, he was exceedingly headstrong and determined, never attending to remonstrances on account of danger; one instance of which was in the attack of the fortresses called the *Rocks of the Marquis*, which he forced us to climb, contrary to all our opinions, where courage, counsel, or wisdom, could give no rational hope of success. Another instance was in his obstinacy respecting the expedition against De Oli; in which I repeatedly urged him to go by way of the mountains, whereas he obstinately persisted in going by the coast. Had he taken my advice, he would have found towns the whole way. Where we had to erect any fortress or entrenchment, he was always the hardest labourer; when we advanced to battle, he was always in the front.

Cortes was fond of play, both at cards and dice, at which he was always good-humoured and affable, often using the cant terms customary on these occasions. During our expedition to Higueras, I observed that he had acquired a habit of taking a short sleep or *siesta* after eating; and if he could not get this he was apt to become sick. On this account, let the rain be ever so heavy, or the sun ever so hot, he always reposed a short while on a cloak or carpet under a tree; and after a short sleep, mounted his horse and proceeded on his march. When engaged in the conquest of New Spain, he was very thin and slender; but after his return from Higueras, he became fat and corpulent. His beard began at that time to grow grey, after which he trimmed it in the short fashion. In his early life, he was very liberal, but grew close afterwards, insomuch that some of his servants complained that he did not pay them properly. I have already observed that he never succeeded in his latter undertakings: Perhaps such was the will of Heaven, which reserved his reward for a better world; for he was a good gentleman and very devout. God pardon him his sins, and

me

me mine, and give me a good end, which is better than all conquests or victories over Indians! Amen.

Descendants of Hernando Cortes[15].

The legitimate children of Cortes were, Don Martin, who succeeded him as marquis; Donna Maria, who married the Conde de Luna of Leon; Donna Juanna, who married Don Hernando Enriquez, heir to the Marquis of Tarriffa; Donna Catalina, who died in Seville; and Donna Leonora, who married, in Mexico, Juanez de Tolosa, a rich Biscayan, which alliance gave great offence to the young marquis. He left also two natural sons: Don Martin by Donna Marina; and Don Luis by a lady named De Hermosilla; both of whom were commanders of the order of St Jago. Besides these, he had three natural daughters; one by an Indian woman of Cuba, and two others by a Mexican woman: He left great fortunes to all these ladies.

Don Hernando Cortes, conqueror, governor, and captain-general of New Spain, admiral of the South Seas, *first* Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, had in second marriage, Donna Jeroma Ramirez de Arellano y Zuniga, daughter of Don Carlos Ramirez de Arellano, *second* Conde de Aguilar, and of Donna Jeroma de Zuniga, daughter of the *first* Duke of Bejar. Their son was,

I. Don Martinez Cortes de Ramirez y Arellano, *second* Marquis of the Valley, married his cousin, Donna Anna Ramirez de Arellano. Their issue was,

II. Don Hernando Cortes de Ramirez ye Arellano, *third* Marquis of the Valley; married Donna Murcia Hernandez de Cabrera y Mendoza, daughter of Don Pedro Hernandez de Cabrera y Bovadilla, *second* Conde de Chinchon, and Donna Maria de Mendoza y Cerda, sister to the Prince of Melito. Don Hernando had but one son, who died in childhood, and was therefore succeeded by his brother,

2.

15 This extended account of the descendants of Cortes, is adopted from Clavigero, I. 442. The first paragraph, which enumerates the younger children of the marquis, and his natural children, are from Diaz. There is a difference between these authors in the name of the marchioness, whom Diaz names Donna *Juanna,* and Clavigero *Jeroma:* The former likewise names the eldest son of Cortes *Martin*, and the latter *Martinez.*—E.

2 Don Pedro Cortes, &c. *fourth* Marquis of the Valley, who married Donna Anna Pacheco de la Cerda, sister of the second Conde de Montalban: But leaving no issue was succeeded by his sister,

3. Donna Jeroma Cortes, &c. *fifth* Marchioness of the Valley, who married Don Pedro Carillo de Mendoza, *ninth* Conde de Priego, captain-general of Seville, and grand major-domo to Queen Margaret of Austria. Their only daughter, who carried on the line of the family, was,

III. Donna Stephania Carillo de Mendoza y Cortes, *sixth* Marchioness of the Valley, who married Don Diego de Arragon, *fourth* Duke of Terra Nova, prince of Castel Vetrano, and of the holy Roman empire, Marquis of Avola and Favora, constable and admiral of Sicily, commander of Villa Franca, viceroy of Sardinia, knight of the golden fleece. Their only daughter was,

IV. Donna Juana de Arragon, &c. *fifth* Duchess of Terra Nova, *seventh* Marchioness of the Valley, &c. who married Don Hector Pignatelli, Duke of Montelione, prince of Noja, &c. Their only son was,

V. Don Andrea Fabrizio Pignatelli, &c. duke of Montelione and Terra Nova, &c. *eighth* Marquis of the Valley; who married Donna Teresa Pimentel y Benavides, &c. Their daughter was,

VI. Donna J. Pignatelli, &c. Duchess of Montelione and Terra Nova, *ninth* Marchioness of the Valley, &c. who married Don Nicolas Pignatelli, viceroy of Sardinia and Sicily, &c. Their son was,

VII. Don Diego Pignatelli, &c. duke of Montelione and Terra Nova, *tenth* Marquis of the Valley, &c. His son was,

VIII. Don Fabrizio Pignatelli, &c. Duke of Montelione and Terra Nova, *eleventh* Marquis of the Valley, &c. His son was,

IX. Don Hector Pignatelli, &c. Duke of Montelione and Terra Nova, *twelfth* Marquis of the Valley, grandee of Spain, prince of the holy Roman empire, *at present living in Naples*[16], and married to Donna N. Piccolomini, of the family of the Dukes of Amalfi.

From

16 This refers to the period when Clavigero composed his History of Mexico, about the year 1780; according to Humboldt, the dukes of Montelione retained the vast estates of Cortes in Mexico within the present century.—E.

From the noble couple mentioned in the VI. step of the foregoing deduction, besides Don Diego, who carried on their line, there were three other sons and three daughters: 1. Don Diego, as above. 2. Don Ferdinand. 3. Don Antonio. 4. Don Fabrizio. 5. Donna Rosa. 6. Donna Maria Teresa. 7. Donna Stephania [17].

SECTION XXIV.

Concluding Observations by the Author [1].

HAVING enumerated the soldiers who passed from Cuba along with Cortes, to the conquest of New Spain, I have to observe that we were for the most part *hidalgos*, or gentlemen, though some were not of such clear lineage as others; but, whatever may have been the dignity of our birth, we made ourselves much more illustrious by our heroic actions in the conquest of this country, at our own sole cost, without any aid or support, save that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. In the ancient history of our own country, many cavaliers rose to dignity and honours by valiant and faithful services to their kings; and though they did not go into the field as we did, without pay, they were rewarded with lands, houses, castles, dignities, and privileges, to them and their heirs in perpetuity. Also, when his majesty Don Jayme, won certain parts of his kingdom from the Moors, he made grants of these to the cavaliers who assisted him in the conquest, from which period their descendants derive their estates, honours, and blazons. Those also who served under the Great Captain and the Prince of Orange were rewarded in like manner. I have recalled the recollection of these things, that the world may consider and determine whether we, who gained this great country by our valour, even without the knowledge

17 This genealogical deduction has been somewhat abridged, as to the multiplicity of high sounding titles, and minute particulars of marriages and noble connections, altogether uninteresting to the English reader.—E.

1 In this section Diaz gives a minute enumeration *of the valiant companions who passed over to the conquest of Mexico with the most adventurous and most magnanimous Don Hernando Cortes, Marquis of the Valley.* This must assuredly be a most valuable document to vast numbers of the present inhabitants of New Spain, by enabling them to trace their honourable descent from the conquerors; but, as totally uninteresting to the English reader, is here omitted.—E.

knowledge of his majesty, are not as worthy of such rewards and honours as those cavaliers above-mentioned, by our good, notable, and loyal services to God, the king, and all Christendom.

I have placed myself last in the list, having been twice in this country before the coming of Cortes, and the third time along with him; and, as among those whom I have enumerated, there were many valiant captains, so I was held in no inconsiderable estimation in my day as a soldier. Besides the many battles and dangers in which I participated since I came into this country, and the distresses, by hunger, thirst, fatigue and wounds, incident to all who undertake discoveries and wars in unknown countries, I was twice in the hands of the enemy, who were carrying me off for sacrifice: But thanks and praise to God and his holy Virgin Mother, who gave me force to escape from their grasp, that I might now relate and make manifest our heroic deeds in the conquest of this *new world*, and thereby to prevent all the honour and merit from being unjustly ascribed to our general alone. It is now proper that I should make some observations on the good effects produced by our exertions and illustrious conquests, to the service of God and our king, in which many of our companions lost their lives, being sacrificed to the gods or idols of the Mexicans, Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca.

In the first place, we purged the land of many wicked customs, and in particular from human sacrifices. By estimates made by the reverend Franciscan friars, who succeeded Fra Bartholomew de Olmedo, it appears that above 2500 human victims were sacrificed yearly in Mexico and some adjacent towns on the lake; so that the number annually put to death in the whole country must have been very great. Their various other horrible practices exceed my powers of description. Their cursed adoratories were exceedingly numerous, like our holy churches, hermitages, and chapels, in Spain, as they had everywhere houses dedicated to idols, devils, and infernal figures. Besides which, every individual native had two altars, one beside the place where he or she slept, and another at the door of the house, with chests containing large or small idols and stone knives, and books made of the bark of trees containing the record of past times. Especially on the coast and other sultry parts of the country, they were addicted to the most abominable vices, where they had boys in female attire. They fed on human flesh, as we do on beef, having

having wooden cages in every town, in which men, women, and children, were kept and fed for that purpose, to which all the prisoners taken in war were destined. Incest was common among them, and they were extremely addicted to drunkenness. They had as many wives as they pleased. From these and many other abominations, it was the will of God that we should be the humble instruments to clear the land; substituting a good policy and the holy doctrine of Jesus Christ in their place. It is true that, two years afterwards, when the country was subjugated and civilized, certain worthy Franciscans of good example and holy doctrine came here, who were followed in three or four years by fathers of the order of St Dominic, who completed what others had begun. But the honour of having destroyed the abominations of the land, assuredly belongs to us the true conquerors, who opened the way for these holy fathers.

By the will of God, and the sacred christianity of the emperor Don Carlos of glorious memory, and our present most fortunate sovereign the invincible Don Philip, all the natives of this great country have been baptised to the salvation of their souls, formerly sunk and lost in the bottomless pit. We have many fathers of the different orders, who go about preaching and baptizing, by which means the knowledge of the holy Evangile is firmly planted in the hearts of the natives, who confess yearly, and those who have sufficient knowledge in the faith, participate in the holy eucharist. The churches and their altars are richly adorned with all requisites for holy worship; as crosses, candlesticks, wax-candles, chalices, cups, plates, and vessels for incense, all of silver. The ornaments of the altars and crosses are of velvet, and damask, and other rich materials, of various colours and splendid workmanship, adorned with embroidery of gold, silk and pearls. Each town has its bells according to its ability. The chapels have choirs of good voices which sing in concert, tenors, trebles, and counter-tenors. In some places there are organs; but most have utes, sackbuts, dulcimers, and bass and treble trumpets. This one province of Guatimala has more than my native county, old Castille. It is edifying and wonderful to see the devotion of the natives at the holy mass, especially when performed by the fathers of the orders of St Francis and of Mercy, who have the cures of the parishes. All the natives, men, women, and children, are taught the holy prayers in their own tongue; and always on passing a cross, crucifix,

crucifix, or altar, they fall on their knees repeating a *pater noster* or an *ave Maria*. We, the conquerors, taught them to burn wax candles before the holy altars and crosses, and to behave respectfully to the reverend fathers, going out to meet them when they came to the towns, with lighted candles, ringing of bells, and providing them abundantly with provisions. On Lady Day and Corpus Christi, and other solemn fasts of the church, when we make processions, most of the natives of this city of Guatimala go likewise in procession, with crosses and lighted candles, bearing the images of their patron saints as richly dressed as they can afford, and singing litanies and other holy prayers to the sound of flutes and trumpets.

The natives also of these countries have learnt all the trades used among us in Spain, having their shops, manufactories, and work-people. Their goldsmiths and silversmiths, both those who make cast work or who use the hammer, are excellent. Their lapidaries or engravers on precious stones, especially emeralds, execute the nicest representations of the holy acts and passion of our blessed Saviour, in such a manner as could not be believed from Indians. Three of our native Mexican artists, named Andres de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and El Crispillo, have in my humble judgment executed paintings which may vie with those of Apelles, Michael Angelo, and Berruguete. The sons of the chiefs used to be educated in grammar, and were learning very well, till this was prohibited by the holy synod, under an order of the most reverend the archbishop of Mexico. Many of the natives are manufacturers of silks and various other stuffs, and hatters, and soap-boilers. Two trades only could never be acquired by them, which is the art of glass blowing, and that of the apothecary; but this is not owing to any defect of natural genius, as there are among them surgeons, herbalists, jugglers, makers of puppets, and of violins. They cultivated the ground before our arrival; and now they rear stock, break in bullocks to the plough, sow, reap, manure, and make bread and biscuit. They have planted their lands with the various fruits of old Spain, such as quince, apple, and pear trees, which they hold in high estimation; but cut down the unwholesome peach trees and the overshading plantains. From us they have learnt laws and justice; and they every year elect their own alcaldes, regidors, notaries, alguazils, fiscals, and major-do-

mos.

mos [2]. They have their *cabildos*, or common councils, and bailiffs, which meet twice a-week, judging, sentencing, and punishing for smaller offences; but for murder and higher crimes, they must have recourse to the Spanish governors in places where there are no courts of royal audience. In Tlascala, Tezcuco, Cholula, Guaxocinco, Tepeaca, and other large cities, gilt maces are borne before the native magistrates when they go to hold their cabildos, as is done before our viceroys; and they distribute justice with much zeal and impartiality, being anxious to acquire a thorough knowledge of our laws. All the caciques are rich, and ride on horses handsomely caparisoned, attended by pages. In some townships likewise, they exercise with the lance on horseback, running at the ring; and they have bull feasts, especially on the days of Corpus Christi, St John, St James, the Assumption, or the patron or patroness saint of the town. Many of them are excellent horsemen, and the natives especially of Chiapa de los Indios, will face the fiercest bull. The caciques breed horses, and use them and mules for conveying their various commodities for sale, such as maize, wood or lime; and many of the natives gain their living by following the occupation of carriers.

By means of our illustrious services, our mother-country obtains gold, silver, precious stones, cochineal, wool, salsaparilla, hides, and various other commodities, to the great advantage of the royal revenue. Since the time of the great and wise Solomon, neither ancient nor modern history record the acquisition of such riches by any country, as have been derived from New Spain. I do not now include the millions in gold and silver derived from Peru, as that country was unknown when we conquered New Spain, and was not conquered till ten years afterwards: Besides all which, Peru has been involved in cruel civil wars, whereas we have ever remained submissive in our allegiance to his majesty, and ready to devote our lives and fortunes to his service. The numerous cities in New Spain are worthy of consideration, but would be too tedious to enumerate. Besides the archbishoprick of Mexico, we have ten bishopricks, with many cathedrals, and monastries belonging to the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, and the order of Mercy. Many hospitals, with extensive

2 These are the ordinary municipal officers of Spanish townships, answerable to our mayors, aldermen, bailiffs, constables, &c.—E.

extensive remissions and pardons attached to them; besides the *Santa casa* of our Lady of Guadaloupe, where many holy miracles are performed daily. In Mexico there is an university in which are taught grammar, theology, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and other sciences; and in which the students take the several degrees of bachelor, licentiate, and doctor; having also a printing press for books in the Spanish and Latin languages. If all I have now said be insufficient, let the wise and learned read over this my true history with impartial care, and they must confess that there never were men who have gained more by their valorous atchievements for their king than we the brave conquerors, among the most valiant of whom I was considered. And I say again, I myself, who am a true conqueror, am the most ancient of all. Of the 550 soldiers who left Cuba along with Cortes, *five* only are now living in the year 1568, while I am writing this history; all the rest having been slain in the wars, or sacrificed to the accursed idols, or have died in the course of nature. Of 1300 soldiers who came with Narvaez, exclusive of mariners, not more than ten or eleven now survive. Of those who came with Garay, including the three companies which landed at St Juan de Ulua previous to his own arrival, amounting to 1200 soldiers, most were sacrificed and devoured in the province of Panuco. We five companions of Cortes who yet survive, are all very old and bowed down with infirmities, and extremely poor; having heavy charges of sons to establish, daughters to marry off, and grand-children to maintain, with very small means to do all this. Whereas we ought to have had the best properties in the country allotted to us, in reward of our high prowess and transcendent services in that country which we conquered; not indeed to the same extent with the rewards granted to Cortes, but in just moderation in proportion to our merits. This indeed was ordered by his majesty, but interest and partiality gave away what we ought to have received to others, leaving little for the royal patrimony or to be bestowed on us. Immediately after the conquest, Cortes ought to have divided the whole country into five shares, assigning the richest and best to his majesty, out of which to reward those cavaliers who served him in his European wars; taking a share and a half to himself, and for the establishment of churches, monasteries, and municipalities; and dividing the remaining half in perpetual grants to us the true conquerors, by which we should have all been amply provided for.

Our

Our emperor was so truly a Christian monarch, that he would willingly have granted us these favours, more especially as the conquest cost him nothing. But we knew not then where to apply for justice, except to Cortes himself, who did in all things as he thought fit, taking care of himself, and of his friends and relations newly come from old Spain. We remained therefore with the little which had been assigned to us, till we saw Don Francisco de Montejo, who had waited on his majesty in Europe, return with the appointment of adelantado and governor of Yucutan, estates in Mexico, and other rewards. Diego de Ordas also, who went to court, obtained a commandery of St Jago, and districts in New Spain. Don Pedro de Alvarado, who likewise went to represent his services, was made adelantado and governor of Guatimala and Chiapa, commander of the order of St Jago, and obtained extensive grants of land. When therefore, we the conquerors saw that those who did not reach his majesty, or had no one to speak for them, were neglected, we transmitted a petition, by which we prayed that such lands as fell vacant might be distributed among us in perpetuities, as had been done by the first court of royal audience, of which Nuno de Guzman was president; who had been directed to make the divisions more equal, deducting in due proportions from the immoderate grants of Cortes, and that the best districts and rents should be divided among us the true conquerors, leaving the cities and great towns for his majesty. His majesty likewise ordered the vassals of Cortes to be counted, leaving no more than were specified in his patents; but I do not remember what was to have been done with the surplus. Nuno de Guzman and the judges of his tribunal were misled by advisers from making their grants perpetual, under pretence that the conquerors would cease to depend upon and respect them if independent, and that it was better to keep them under the necessity of supplicating for subsistence, and likewise to preserve to themselves the power of dividing the conquered lands to the advantage of their own interest. Guzman and his oydors indeed, constantly assigned such districts as fell vacant among the conquerors and colonists to universal satisfaction; but were superseded in consequence of their disputes with Cortes.

In 1550, when I was in Old Spain, a council was formed, consisting of Bartholemew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, Vasco de Quiroga, bishop of Mechoacan, and other cavaliers who

who had come as agents from New Spain and Peru, with some gentlemen who had come on business to court; to which council I also was called, as being the most ancient of the conquerors of New Spain. At this time certain of the Peruvian gentlemen petitioned his majesty to cause perpetual allotments of lands to be made in that kingdom, and a similar petition was presented by Gonzalo Lopez and Alonzo de Villanueva, who had come over as agents from Mexico. His majesty was pleased to order the *rapartimiento* or distribution of lands to be referred to the council of the Indies, consisting of the Marquis de Mondejar president, with the licentiates Gutierre Velasquez, Tello de Sandoval, Gregorio Lopes de Briviesca, and the Doctor Hernan Perez de la Fuente, oydors or judges of that court, together with the members of other royal councils. At this meeting, it was proposed to make a perpetual distribution of the lands of New Spain and Peru; I am uncertain if New Granada and Popayan were to have been included. Many excellent reasons were given for this measure being adopted, but it was strenuously opposed by the members of the royal council of the Indies, together with Bishop de las Casas, Fra Rodrigo his coadjutor, and the Bishop of las Charcas, who insisted that the matter should be postponed till the return of the emperor from Vienna, when every thing should be arranged to the satisfaction of the conquerors: And thus the affair was dropped for the present.

After my return to New Spain, the conquerors then proposed to send agents to solicit his majesty for our interest exclusively, in consequence of which I was written to here in Guatimala, by Captain Andres de Tapia, Pedro Morena de Medrana, and Juan Limpias Caravajal, on the subject. I accordingly went round among the other conquerors who were settled in this city, to raise a sum by subscription for the purpose, but this project failed for want of money. At a subsequent period, our present invincible king Don Philip, was pleased to command that the conquerors and their posterity should be provided for, attending in the first instance to those who were married. But all has been of no avail.

Two learned licentiates, to whom I communicated the MS. of this history, observed that I had praised myself greatly in the battles of which I have given an account, whereas I ought to have left that to be done by others. But how is any one who was not in the wars with us to praise us as we deserve? To compare myself, a poor soldier, with the great emperor

emperor and warrior Julius Cesar, we are told by historians, that he used to write down with his own hand an account of his own heroic deeds, not chusing to entrust that office to others, although he had many historians in his empire. It is not therefore extraordinary if I relate the battles in which I fought, that it may be known in future ages, *thus did Bernal Diaz del Castillo*; that my sons and grandsons may enjoy the fame of their ancestor, as many cavaliers and lords of vassals do the deeds and blazons of their predecessors. I shall therefore enumerate the various battles and other warlike affairs in which I have been present. At Cape Cotoche, under Cordova; at Pontonchan in a battle where half our number was slain; and in Florida where we landed to procure water. Under Juan de Grijalva, I was present in the second battle of Pontonchan. During my third voyage, under Cortes, two pitched battles at Tabasco. On our arrival in New Spain, the battle of Cingapacinga or Teoatzinco. Shortly afterwards three pitched battles with the Tlascalans. The affair of Cholula. On our entry into Mexico, I was at the seizure of Montezuma, which I do not enumerate as a warlike exploit, but on account of its great boldness. Four months afterwards, when with 276 men, Cortes defeated Narvaez who had 1300. The relief of Alvarado, when the Mexicans made incessant attacks upon us during eight days and nights, during which I reckon eight several battles, at all of which I was present, and in the course of which we lost 870 men. The battle of Obtumba or Otompan. A battle at Tepeaca. A battle at Tezcuco. Two battles, in one of which I was wounded in the throat by a lance. Two actions about the maize fields near Chalco. The rash attack on the fortresses called the Rocks of the Marquis in our expedition round the lake. The battle of Cuernavaca. Three battles at Xochimilco. During the siege of Mexico, which lasted *ninety-three* days, I find by my account that I was engaged in upwards of eighty battles and skirmishes. After the conquest, I was sent out on various expeditions to reduce Coatzacualco, Chiapa, and the Zapotecans, in which we had several engagements. In Chamula and Cuitlan, two engagements. In Teapa and Chematlan two others, in one of which I was badly wounded in the throat. I forgot to mention, that we were pursued for nine days in our flight from Mexico, and had to fight four battles before the great one at Otompan. Several actions in our expedition to Higueras and Honduras,

ras, during which in a battle at Culacotu I had a horse killed under me which cost 600 crowns. After my return to Mexico, I went upon an expedition into the mountains against the Zapotecas and Mixtecas. I have on the whole been present in *one hundred and nineteen* battles, engagements, and skirmishes; so that it is not wonderful if I praise myself for the many and notable services which I have rendered to God, his majesty and all Christendom: And I give thanks and praise to the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath preserved me in so many dangers.

THE END OF BERNAL DIAZ.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF PERU, BY FRANCISCO PIZARRO, WRITTEN BY AUGUSTINO ZARATE, TREASURER OF THAT KINGDOM, A FEW YEARS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present chapter, like that immediately preceding from the pen of Bernal Diaz, although in strict language neither a journey nor a voyage, records in every step of the conquerors a new *discovery* of coasts, islands, rivers, districts, and tribes, that had never been visited before. In conformity with our uniform desire to have recourse upon all occasions to the most authentic original authorities for every article admitted into this collection, so far as in our power, the work of Zarate has been chosen as the record of the discovery and conquest of Peru, in preference to any modern compilation on the same subject. As we learn from himself, Zarate was a person of rank and education, who went into Peru in 1543, only *eighteen* years after the first movements of Pizarro and Almagro towards the discovery of that extensive country, and only *eleven* years after its actual invasion by Pizarro in 1532. From the illustrious historian of America, Dr William Robertson, the work which we now offer to the public for the first time in the English language, has the following

lowing high character: "The history of Zarate, whether we attend to its matter or composition, is a book of considerable merit, and great credit is due to his testimony." Besides this general eulogy; in his enumeration of six original authors whom he had consulted in the composition of that portion of his History of America which refers to Peru, he clearly shews that Zarate alone can be considered as at the same time perfectly authentic and sufficiently copious for the purpose we have at present in view. The substance of his account of all the six is as follows.

"*Two* of the more early writers on the subject of the discovery and conquest of Peru, Francisco de Xeres, the secretary of Pizarro, and Pedro Sanchez, an officer who served under the conqueror, break off almost in the introduction to the narrative, going no farther into the history of the conquest than the death of Atahualpa in 1533, only *one* year after the invasion of Peru. The *third* in point of time, Pedro Cioca de Leon, only two years earlier in his publication than Zarate, gives nothing more than a description of the country, and an account of the institutions and customs of the natives. Zarate is the *fourth*. The *fifth*, Don Diego Fernandez, solely relates to the dissentions and civil wars among the Spanish conquerors. The *sixth* and last of these original authors, Garcilasso de la Vega *Inca*, the son of a Spanish officer of distinction by a *Coya*, or Peruvian female of the royal race, gives little more than a commentary on the before mentioned writers, and was not published till 1609, seventy five years after the invasion of Peru by Pizarro [1]."

In the Bibliotheque des Voyages, VI. 319. mention is made of a Description of Peru as published in French in 1480, and said to be a very rare work: *Rare*, indeed, if the imprint be not an error, *fifty-two* years before the actual invasion and discovery. In the same useful work, the performance of Zarate is thus characterized. "The author has not confined his views to the history and conquest of Peru, but has given us a statement of the natural features of the country, an account of the manners of the inhabitants, and a curious picture of the religious opinions and institutions of the Peruvians."

Four of the six original authors respecting Peru which are noticed by Robertson, we have not seen; having confined our

1 History of America, *note* cxxv.

our views to that of Zarate, which is not only the best according to the opinion of that excellent judge, but the only one which could answer the purpose of our present collection. In preparing this original work for publication, it is proper to acknowledge that we have been satisfied with translating from the French edition of Paris, 1742; but, besides every attention to fidelity of translation, it has been carefully collated throughout with the *Royal Commentary* of the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, as published in English by Sir Paul Rycaut, knight, in 1688; and with the excellent work of Dr Robertson. It may be proper to mention, however, that the following translation, though faithful, has been made with some freedom of retrenching a superfluity of useless language; though nothing has been omitted in point of fact, and nothing altered.

Having mentioned the work of Garcilasso de la Vega, which we have employed as an auxiliary on the present occasion, it may be worth while to give a short account of it in this place: For there never was, perhaps, a literary composition so strangely mixed up of unconnected and discordant sense and nonsense, and so totally devoid of any thing like order or arrangement, in the whole chronology of authorship, or rather of book-making, as has been produced by this scion of the Incas. No consideration short of our duty to the public, could have induced us to wade through such a labyrinth of absurdity in quest of information. It is astonishing how the honest knight could have patience to translate 1019 closely printed folio pages of such a farrago; and on closing the work of the Inca for ever, we heartily joined in the concluding pious thanksgiving of the translator, *Praised be God*. This enormous literary production of the *Inca* Garcilasso, is most regularly divided and subdivided into parts, books, and chapters; which contain here a little history, then digressions on manners, customs, opinions, ceremonies, laws, policy, arts, animals, vegetables, agriculture, buildings, &c. &c. &c. intermixed with bits and scraps of history, in an endless jumble; so that for every individual circumstance on any one of these topics, the pains-taking reader must turn over the whole work with the most anxious attention. We quote an example, taken absolutely at random, the titles of the Chapters of Part I. Book ix.

Chap. I. Huayna Capac makes a gold chain as big as a cable, and why. II. Reduces ten vallies of the coast. III. Punishes

Punishes some murderers. IV.—VII. Incidents of his reign, confusedly related. VIII. Gods and customs of the Mantas. IX. Of giants formerly in Peru. X. Philosophical sentiments of the Inca concerning the sun. XI. and XII. Some incidents of his reign. XIII. Construction of two extensive roads. XIV. Intelligence of the Spaniards being on the coast. XV. Testament and death of Huayna Capac. XVI. How horses and mares were first bred in Peru. XVII. Of cows and oxen. XVIII.—XXIII. Of various animals, all introduced after the conquest. XXIV.—XXXI. Of various productions, some indigenous, and others introduced by the Spaniards. XXXII. Huascar claims homage from Atahualpa. XXXIII.—XL. Historical incidents, confusedly arranged, all without dates.

The whole work is equally confused at best, and often much more so; often consisting of extracts from other writers, with commentaries, argumentations, ridiculous speeches, miracles, and tales recited by old *Incas* and *Coyas*, uncles aunts and cousins of the author. To add to the difficulty of consultation, Sir Paul, having exhausted his industry in the translation, gives no table of contents whatever, and a most miserable Index which hardly contains an hundredth part of the substance of the work. Yet the author of the Bibliotheque des Voyages, says "that this work is *very precious*, as it contains the only remaining notices of the government, laws, manners, and customs of the Peruvians."—*Ed.*

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

After having enjoyed the office of secretary to the royal council of Castille for fifteen years, the king was graciously pleased to order me to Peru in 1543, as treasurer-general of that province and of the Tierra Firma; in which employment I was entrusted with the entire receipt of the royal revenues and rights, and the payment of all his majesties officers in those countries. I sailed thither in the fleet which conveyed Blasco Nugnez Vela the viceroy of Peru; and immediately on my arrival in the New World, I observed so many insurrections, disputes, and novelties, that I felt much inclined to transmit their memory to posterity. I accordingly wrote down every transaction as it occurred; but soon discovered that these could not be understood unless the previous

vious events were explained from which they originated. I found it necessary, therefore, to go back to the epoch of the discovery of the country, to give a detail of the occurrences in their just order and connection. My work might perhaps have been somewhat more perfect, if I had been able to compose it in regular order while in Peru; but a brutal major-general, who had served under Gonzalo Pizarro [1], threatened to put any one to death who should presume to write a history of his transactions, so that I was obliged to satisfy myself with collecting all the documents I could procure for enabling me to compose my history after returning into Spain. He was perhaps right in wishing these transactions might fall into oblivion, instead of being transmitted to posterity.

Should my style of writing be found not to possess all the polish that my readers may desire, it will at least record the true state of events; and I shall not be disappointed if it only serve to enable another to present a history of the same period in more elegant language and more orderly arrangement. I have principally directed my attention to a strict regard for truth, the soul of history, using neither art nor disguise in my description of things and events which I have seen and known; and in relating those matters which happened before my arrival, I have trusted to the information of dispassionate persons, worthy of credit. These were not easy to find in Peru, most persons having received either benefits or injuries from the party of Pizarro or that of Almagro; which were as violent in their mutual resentments as the adherents of Marius and Sylla, or of Cæsar and Pompey of old.

In all histories there are three chief requisites: the designs, the actions, and the consequences. In the two latter particulars I have used all possible care to be accurate. If I may not always agree with other authors in regard to the first of these circumstances, I can only say that such is often the case with the most accurate and faithful historians. After I had finished this work, it was my intention to have kept it long unpublished, lest I might offend the families of those persons whose improper conduct is therein pourtrayed. But some

1 Even the orthography of the name of Pizarro is handed down to us with some variety. In the work of Garcilasso de la Vega it is always spelt Piçarro: Besides which, the Inca Garcilasso, in his almost perpetual quotations of our author Zarate, always gives the name Carate; the *ç*, or cerilla *c*, being equivalent in Spanish to the *z* in the other languages of Europe. —E.

some persons to whom I had communicated my manuscript, shewed it to the king during his voyage to England, who had it read to him as an amusement from the tiresomeness of the voyage. My work had the good fortune to please his majesty, who honoured it with his approbation, and graciously commanded me to have it printed; and which I have the more readily complied with, as his royal commands may protect my book from the cavils of the censorious readers.

Much difficulty occurs respecting the origin of the people who inhabited Peru and the other provinces of America, and by what means their ancestors could have crossed the vast extent of sea which separates that country from the old world. In my opinion this may be explained from what is said by Plato in his *Timaeus*, and the subsequent dialogue entitled *Atlantis*. He says: "That the Egyptians report, to the honour of the Athenians, that they contributed to defeat certain kings who came with a numerous army by sea from the great island of Atlantis, which, beginning beyond the Pillars of Hercules, is larger than all Asia and Africa together, and is divided into ten kingdoms which Neptune gave among his ten sons, Atlas, the eldest, having the largest and most valuable share." Plato adds several remarkable particulars concerning the customs and riches of that island; especially concerning a magnificent temple in the chief city, the walls of which were entirely covered over with gold and silver, having a roof of copper, and many other circumstances which are here omitted for the sake of brevity; though it is certain that several customs and ceremonies mentioned by Plato are still practised in the provinces of Peru. Beyond the great island of Atlantis, there were other large islands not far distant from the *Firm Land*, beyond which again was the *True Sea*. The following are the words which Plato attributes, in his Timaeus, to Socrates, as spoken to the Athenians. "It is held certain, that in ancient times your city resisted an immense number of enemies from the Atlantic Ocean, who had conquered almost all Europe and Asia. In those days the *Straits* were navigable, and immediately beyond them there was an island, commencing almost at the *Pillars of Hercules*, which was said to be larger than Asia and Africa united; from whence the passage was easy to other islands near and opposite to the continent of the *True Sea*." A little after this passage, it is added. "That nine thousand years before his days,

days, a great change took place, as the sea adjoining that island was so increased by the accession of a prodigious quantity of water, that in the course of one day it swallowed up the whole island; since when that sea has remained so full of shallows and sand banks as to be no longer navigable, neither has any one been able to reach the other islands and the *Firm Land*."

Some authors have believed this recital to be merely allegorical, while most of the commentators on Plato considered it as a real historical narrative. The *nine thousand years*, mentioned by Plato, must not be considered as an indication of this discourse being fabulous; since, according to Eudoxus, we must understand them as lunar years or *moons*, after the Egyptian mode of computation, *or nine thousand months*, which are *seven hundred and fifty years*. All historians and cosmographers, ancient as well as modern, have concurred to name the sea by which that great island was swallowed up, the *Atlantic* Ocean, in which the name of that ancient island is retained, giving a strong evidence of its former existence. Adopting, therefore the truth of this historical fact, it must be granted that this island of Atlantis, beginning from the Straits of Gibraltar near Cadiz, must have stretched a vast way from north to south, and from east to west, since it was larger than all Asia and Africa. The *other* islands in the neighbourhood must have been those now named Hispaniola, Cuba, Porto Rico, Jamaica, and others of the West Indies; and the *Firm Land*, that part of the Continent to which we still give the name of *Tierra Firma*, together with the other countries and provinces of America, from the Straits of Magellan in the south to the extreme north; as Peru, Popayan, Golden Castille, Veragua, Nicaragua, Guatimala, New Spain, *the Seven Cities*, Florida, *Baccalaos*, and so on along the north to Norway. The authority of Plato is conclusive that the *New World* which has been discovered in our time, is the same Continent or Firm Land mentioned by that philosopher; and his *True Sea* must be that which we name the *South Sea*, or Pacific Ocean; for the whole Mediterranean, and all that was before known of the Ocean, which we call the *North Sea*, can only be considered as rivers or lakes in comparison with the vast extent of that other sea. After these explanations, it is not difficult to conceive how mankind in ancient times may have passed from the great island of *Atlantis* and the *other* neighbouring isles, to what we now call the Tierra Firma, or *Firm*

Firm Land, and thence by land, or by the South Sea, into Peru: As we must believe that the inhabitants of these islands practised navigation, which they must have learned by intercourse with the great island, in which Plato expressly says there were many ships, and carefully constructed harbours. These, in my opinion, are the most probable conjectures which can be formed on this obscure subject of antiquity; more especially as we can derive no lights from the Peruvians, who have no writing by which to preserve the memory of ancient times. In New Spain, indeed, they had certain pictures, which answered in some measure instead of books and writings; but in Peru, they only used certain strings of different colours with several knots, by means of which and the distances between them, they were able to express some things in a very confused and uncertain manner, as shall be explained in the course of this history.

So much of the following history as relates to the discovery of the country, has been derived from the information of Rodrigo Lozan, an inhabitant of Truxillo in Peru, and from others who were witnesses of and actors in the transactions which I have detailed.

Section I.

Of the discovery of Peru, with some account of the country and its inhabitants.

The city of Panama is a port on the South Sea, in that province of the continent of America which is called Golden Castille. In the year 1524, three inhabitants of that city entered into an association for the purpose of discovering the western coast of the continent by the South Sea, in that direction which has been since named Peru. These were Don Francisco Pizarro of Truxillo, Don Diego de Almagro of Malagon, and Hernando de Luque, an ecclesiastic. No one knew the family or origin of Almagro, though some said that he had been found at a church door [1]. These men, being among

1 In a note of the French edition of 1742, it is said that, in the folio edition of Zarate printed at Seville in 1677, Luque was called the father of Almagro, and that no mention is made of that ecclesiastic having taken any part in the expedition: Robertson, in his History of America, II. 272, says that

among the richest of the colonists of Panama, proposed to themselves to enrich and aggrandize themselves by means of discovering new countries, and to do important service to the emperor, Don Carlos V. by extending his dominions. Having received permission from Pedro Arias de Avila[2], who then governed that country, Francisco Pizarro fitted out a vessel with considerable difficulty, in which he embarked with 114 men. About fifty leagues from Panama, he discovered a small and poor district, named *Peru*, from which that name has been since improperly extended to all the country afterwards discovered along that coast to the south for more than 1200 leagues. Beyond that Peru, he discovered another district, to which the Spaniards gave the name of *El Pueblo quemado*, or the *Burnt People*. The Indians of that country made war upon him with so much obstinacy, and killed so many of his men, that he was constrained to retreat to *Chinchama* or Chuchama, not far from Panama.

In the mean time, Almagro fitted out another vessel at Panama, in which he embarked with 70 men, and went along the coast in search of Pizarro as far as the river San Juan, a hundred leagues from Panama. Not finding him there, Almagro returned along the coast to the *Pueblo quemado*, where, from certain indications of Pizarro having been there, he landed with his men. The Indians, puffed up with the remembrance of the victory they had gained over Pizarro, attacked Almagro with great courage, and did him considerable injury; and one day they even penetrated the entrenchment he had thrown up for defence, through some negligence in the guards, and put the Spaniards to flight, who were forced to retreat with loss to their vessel and put to sea, on which occasion Almagro lost an eye. Following the shore on the way back towards Panama, Almagro found Pizarro at Chinchama

that Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman of honourable family by a low woman, and that his education was so entirely neglected that he could neither read nor write. He adds that, after serving some years in Italy, he embarked for America, where he greatly distinguished himself. In our last chapter, Diaz makes frequent mention of Pizarro as serving with reputation under Cortes, in the early part of the expedition to Mexico; but gives no account of his quitting the service of Cortes; to whom he was probably somehow related, as the mother of Cortes was named Catalina Pizarro Altamirano. Almagro, according to Robertson, was a foundling, and bred like Pizarro in the army. Luque acted as priest and schoolmaster at Panama, and had amassed considerable riches.—E.

2 Named Pedrarias by Robertson.—E.

Chinchama [3]. Pizarrro was much pleased by the junction of Almagro, as by means of his men, and some additional soldiers they procured in Chinchama, they had now a force of two hundred Spaniards. They accordingly recommenced the expedition, endeavouring to sail down the coast to the southwards in two vessels and three large canoes. In this navigation they suffered great fatigue from contrary winds and currents, and were much incommoded when they attempted to land in any of the numerous small rivers which fall into the South Sea, as they all swarmed at their mouths with large lizards, or alligators, called caymans by the natives. These animals are ordinarily from twenty to twenty-five feet long, and kill either men or beasts when in the water. They come out of the water to lay their eggs, which they bury in great numbers in the sand, leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the sun. These caymans have a strong resemblance to the crocodiles of the river Nile. The Spaniards suffered much from hunger in this voyage, as they could find nothing fit to eat along this coast except the fruit of a tree called mangles, which grew in great abundance everywhere along the shore. These trees are tall and straight, and have a very hard wood; but as they grow on the shore, their roots being drenched in sea water, their fruit is salt and bitter; yet necessity obliged the Spaniards to subsist on them, along with such fish as they could find, particularly crabs; as on the whole of that coast no maize was grown by the natives. From the currents along this coast, which always set strongly to the north, they were obliged to make their way by dint of constant rowing; always harassed by the Indians, who assailed them with loud cries, calling them banished men, and *hairy faces*, who were formed from the spray of the sea, and wandered about without cultivating the earth, like outcasts and vagabonds.

Having lost several of his men through famine and by the incessant attacks of the Indians, it was agreed that Almagro should return to Panama for recruits and provisions. Having procured twenty-four, they advanced with these and the remains of

3 Chinchama, by the map in Zarate is that part of the western coast of Tierra Firma or Darien, opposite the Isla del Rey. The poor province of Peru, beyond or to the southwards of Cinchama, is that now called Biruquete; and the Pueblo quemada, or Burnt People, must be looked for in the province of Novita, perhaps Nounamas, immediately to the south of which is the river of St Juan.—E.

of their original force to a country named *Catamez*[4], considerably beyond the river of St Juan, a tolerably peopled country, in which they found plenty of provisions. The Indians of this part of the coast, who were still hostile, were observed to have certain ornaments of gold, resembling nails, inserted into holes made for that purpose in different parts of their faces. Almagro was sent back a second time to Panama, to endeavour to procure a larger force, and Pizarro retired in the mean time to the small island of *Gallo* somewhat farther to the north, near the shore of the *Barbacoas*, and not far from Cape *Mangles*, where he and his people suffered extreme hardships from scarcity of provisions, amounting almost to absolute famine.

On the return of Almagro to Panama for reinforcements, he found the government in the hands of Pedro de los Rios, who opposed the design of Almagro to raise recruits, because those with Pizarro had secretly conveyed a petition to the governor, not to permit any more people to be sent upon an enterprize of so much danger, and requesting their own recal. The governor, therefore, sent an officer to the Isle of Gallo, with an order for such as were so inclined to return to Panama, which was eagerly embraced by the greatest part of the soldiers of Pizarro, twelve only remaining along with him. Not daring to remain with so small a force in an island so near the main land, Pizarro retired to an uninhabited island named Gorgona, about 70 miles farther north, and considerably more distant from the coast than Gallo, in which island, which had abundance of springs and rivulets, he and his small band of faithful associates, lived on crabs in expectation of relief and reinforcement from Panama. At last a vessel arrived with provisions, but no soldiers, in which Pizarro embarked with his twelve men, to whose courage and constancy the discovery of Peru was owing. Their names deserve to be handed down to posterity: Nicolas de Ribera, Pedro de Candia a native of the Greek island of that name, Juan de Torre, Alfonso Briseno, Christoval de Peraulte, Alfonso de Truxillo, Francisco de Cuellar, and Alfonso de Molina[5]. The pilot of the vessel in which they embarked was named Bartholomew Bruyz, a native of Moguer. Under the guidance

4 Tacamez, otherwise called the district of *Esmeraldas*, or of emeralds, is in the kingdom of Quito near the equinoctial line.—E.

5 Instead of *twelve*, the text only names *eight* of the brave associates of Pizarro.—E.

ance of this man, but with infinite difficulty from contrary winds and adverse currents, Pizarro reached a district named *Mostripe*[6], about equally distant from the two places since built by the Christians, named Truxillo and San Miguel. With the very small number of men who accompanied him, Pizarro dared not to advance any farther along the coast, and contented himself with going a small way up the river *Puechos* or de la Chira[7]; where he procured some of the sheep[8] of the country, and some of the natives on purpose to serve him as interpreters in the sequel. Returning from thence, Pizarro went northwards to the port of Tumbez on the south-side of the bay of Guayaquil, where he was informed that the king of Peru had a fine palace, and where the Indians were said to be very rich. This place was one of the most extraordinary in the country, until it was ruined by the inhabitants of the island of Puna, as will be related hereafter. At this place, three of his men deserted, who were afterwards put to death by the Indians.

After these discoveries, Pizarro returned to Panama, having spent three years in this voyage, counting from his first leaving Panama, in which time he was exposed to many dangers fatigues and privations, by the opposition and hostilities of the Indians, and through famine, and more than all distressed by the discontents and mutinies of his people, most of whom lost all hope of success, or of deriving any advantage from the expedition. Pizarro soothed their fears and encouraged their perseverance by every means in his power, providing for their necessities with much prudent care, and bearing up against every difficulty with astonishing firmness and perseverance: leaving to Almagro to provide men arms and horses, and necessaries of all kinds for the enterprize. These two officers, from being the richest of the settlers in Panama

6 Morope, in lat. 6° 35′, in the district of Sana, is in the situation of the place mentioned in the text.—E.

7 This river, otherwise called Amatape, runs into the bay of Payta, in lat. 5° 10′ south.—E.

8 Under the name of Peruvian sheep, five species of the Camel genus are known to naturalists, the Glama or Llama, Guanaco, Chillihueque, Vicugna, and Pacos. The three former were used as animals of burthen by the native Peruvians, and domesticated, the two latter, especially the Vicugna, are valuable for the firmness of their fleeces. The three larger species carry loads of about a hundred pounds weight, the other two, when domesticated, may be made to carry smaller burdens of from fifty to seventy-five pounds.—E.

Panama at the commencement of their enterprize, were now entirely ruined and overwhelmed in debt; yet did they not despair of ultimate success, and resolved to prosecute the discovery of which a very promising commencement had now been made [9].

In concert with his associates Almagro and Luque, Pizarro went to Spain, to lay an account before the king of the discovery which he had made, and to solicit the appointment of governor of that country, of which he proposed to prosecute the discovery, and to reduce it under the dominion of the crown of Spain. His majesty granted his demand, under those conditions which used to be stipulated with other officers who engaged in similar enterprizes. With this authority, he returned to Panama, accompanied by Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo Pizarro, and Francisco Martin de Alcantara, his brothers. Ferdinand and Juan Pizarro were his brothers both by father and mother, and the only lawful sons of Gonzalo Pizarro, an inhabitant of Truxillo in Old Spain, a captain in the infantry regiment of Navarre: Don Francisco Pizarro himself and Gonzalo Pizarro were natural sons of the elder Gonzalo Pizarro by different mothers: Francisco de Alcantara was likewise the brother of Don Francisco Pizarro, by his mother only, but by a different father [10]. Besides these, Pizarro brought as many men from Spain to assist in his enterprize as he could procure, being mostly inhabitants of Truxillo and other places in Estremadura [11].

On his arrival at Panama in 1530, Pizarro and his associates used every effort to complete the preparations for the enterprize;

9 It was now towards the close of 1527, the third year from the first departure of Pizarro from Panama.—Robertsons America, II. 281.

10 Robertson, II. 284. gives a different account of these four relations of Francisco Pizarro from Zarate. According to him, Ferdinand was the only lawful son of old Gonzalo Pizarro; Francisco, Juan, and the younger Gonzalo being all natural sons; and Francisco de Alcantara was the uncle of Don Francisco, being the brother of his mother. In the sequel, the conqueror of Peru shall be always mentioned by the single name of Pizarro, distinguishing his brothers by the addition of their christian names. While in Spain, Pizarro received a supply of money from Cortes, under whom he had served in the early part of the conquest of Mexico.—E.

11 His commission from the crown of Spain, imposed the condition of raising 250 men, and to supply the ships and warlike stores necessary for the expedition; but his funds and credit were so low that he could hardly complete half the number, and had to steal away from the port of Seville to elude the examination of the officers as to the fulfilment of his contract.—Robertsons America, II. 284.

terprize; but at first a dispute arose between him and Almagro. The latter complained that Pizarro had only attended to his own interests when at the court of Spain, having procured the appointments of governor and president of Peru for himself, without making any mention of Almagro, or at least without having procured any office for him, who had borne the far greater proportion of the expences hitherto incurred. Pizarro alleged that the king had refused to give any office to Almagro, though solicited by him for that purpose: But engaged his word to renounce the office of president in his behalf, and to supplicate the king to bestow that appointment upon him. Almagro was appeased by this concession; and they proceeded to make every preparation in concert that might be conducive to the success of the undertaking. But, before entering upon the narrative of their actions, it seems proper to give some account of the situation of Peru, of the most remarkable things which it contains, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

The country of Peru, of which this history is intended to treat, commences at the equator, and extends south towards the antartic pole [12]. The people who inhabit in the neighbourhood of the equator have swarthy complexions; their language is extremely guttural; and they are addicted to unnatural vices, for which reason they care little for their women and use them ill [13]. The women wear their hair very short, and

12 It is impossible to give any competent geographical account of this extensive country in the compass of a note. Proper Peru begins at the river Tumbez in the gulf of Guayaquil, in about lat. 3° 20′ S. and extends S.S.E. along the Pacific Ocean to the desert of Atacama, which divides it from Chili, in lat. 21° 28 S. an extent of about 1200 miles; consisting of two remarkably different tracts of country. A narrow valley along the Pacific Ocean, seldom so much as 70 miles in breadth, bounded on the east by the enormous main ridge of the Andes; beyond which are many elevated vallies or table lands of various extent, divided by collateral ridges and branches of the Andes, from each other and from the prodigiously extensive plains of the vast Orinoco Maranon and La Plata rivers. Quito, which had been annexed to the kingdom of Peru, only a short time before the Spanish conquest, is similarly situated, both as to maritime vale, and elevated table land, immediately to the north of Peru proper, and seems to have reached from lat. 3° 20′ S. to about lat, 1° N. but is now included in the viceroyalty of New Granada which reaches to the Carribbean sea, with which it is connected by the river Magdalena.—E.

13 The substance of this description appears to refer entirely to that province of the kingdom of Quito which is named Esmeraldas or Tacamez, on both sides of the equator.—E.

and their whole clothing consists of a short petticoat, covering only from the waist to about the knees. By the women only is the grain cultivated, and by them it is bruised or ground to meal, and baked. This grain, called maize in the West Indian Islands, is called *Zara* in the language of Peru [14]. The men wear a kind of shirts or jackets without sleeves, which only reach to the navel, and do not cover the parts of shame. They wear their hair short, having a kind of tonsure on their crowns, almost like monks. They have no other dress or covering, yet pride themselves on certain ornaments of gold hanging from their ears and nostrils, and are particularly fond of pendants made of emeralds, which are chiefly found in those parts of the country bordering on the equator. The natives have always concealed the places where these precious stones are procured; but the Spaniards have been in use to find some emeralds in that part of the country, mixed among pebbles and gravel, on which account it is supposed that the natives procured them from thence. The men also are fond of wearing a kind of bracelets, or strings of beads, of gold and silver, mixed with small turquoise stones and white shells, or of various colours; and the women are not permitted to wear any of those ornaments.

The country is exceedingly hot and unwholesome, and the inhabitants are particularly subject to certain malignant warts or carbuncles of a dangerous nature on the face and other parts of the body, having very deep roots, which are more dangerous than the small-pox, and almost equally destructive as the carbuncles of the plague. The natives have many temples, of which the doors always front the east, and are closed only by cotton curtains. In each temple there are two idols or figures in relief resembling black goats, before which they continually burn certain sweet-smelling woods. From this wood a certain liquor exudes, when the bark is stripped off, which has a strong and disagreeable flavour, by means of which dead bodies are preserved free from corruption. In their temples, they have also representations of large serpents, to which they give adoration; besides which every nation, district, tribe or house, had its particular god or idol. In some temples, particularly in those of certain villages which were

14 Various reasons have been assigned for the origin of the word Peru, as the name of the empire of the Incas, unknown to themselves, at least in that sense. The most probable derivation is from the river *Piura,* near its northern frontier, where it was first visited by Pizarro.—E.

were called *Pasao*, the walls and pillars were hung round with dried bodies of men women and children, *in the form of crosses*, which were all so thoroughly embalmed by means of the liquor already mentioned, that they were entirely devoid of bad smell. In these places also they had many human heads hung up; which by means of certain drugs with which they were anointed, were so much shrunk or dried up as to be no bigger than a mans fist [15].

This country is extremely dry, as it very seldom has any rain, and its rivulets are few and scanty; so that the people are reduced to the necessity of digging pit-wells, or of procuring water from certain pools or reservoirs. Their houses are built of large canes or reeds. It possesses gold, but of a very low quantity; and has very few fruits. The inhabitants use small canoes hollowed out of the trunks of trees, and a sort of rafts which are very flat. The whole coast abounds in fish, and whales are sometimes seen in these seas. On the doors of the temples in that district which is called *Caraque*, the figures of men are sometimes seen, which have dresses somewhat resembling those of our deacons.

Near the last mentioned province, at Cape St Helena in the province of Guayaquil, there are certain springs or mineral veins which give out a species of bitumen resembling pitch or tar, and which is applied to the same purposes. The Indians of that country pretend that in ancient times it was inhabited by giants, who were four times the height of ordinary men [16]. The Spaniards saw two representations of these giants at *Puerto viejo*, one of a man and the other of a woman, and the inhabitants related a traditionary tale of the descent of a young man from heaven, whose countenance and body shone like the sun, who fought against the giants and destroyed them with flames of fire. In the year 1543, Captain Juan de Holmos, lieutenant-governor of Puerto viejo, caused a certain valley to be carefully examined, in which these giants were

15 This circumstance is unintelligible, as the bones could not shrink, unless by supposing these *human heads* to have been the heads of small apes, resembling human faces. The expression of the text, immediately before, of human carcasses hung up *in the form of crosses*, ought perhaps to have been rendered *instead of* crosses.--- E.

16 A good deal more is said of these giants, both by Zarate and Garcilasso de la Vega, p. 363, but so vague and absurd as not to be worth insertion. The whole story seems to have arisen out of the colossal representation of a man and woman at Puerto viejo.----E

were said to have been destroyed, and in which ribs and other bones of prodigious size were dug up, which fully confirmed the traditions of the Indians [17]. The natives of this country have no knowledge whatever of writing, nor had they even any use of that method of painting employed by the Mexicans for preserving the memory of ancient events, which were handed down from father to son merely by traditionary stories. In some places indeed they used an extraordinary means for preserving the remembrance of important events, by certain cords or strings of cotton called *Quippos*, on which they represented *numbers* by knots of different kinds, and at regulated intervals, from *units* up to *dozens*, and so forth; the cords being of the same colours with those things which they were intended to represent. In every province, there are persons who are entrusted with the care of these *quippos*, who are named *Quippo camayos*, who register public matters by means of these coloured strings and knots artificially disposed; and it is wonderful with what readiness these men understand and explain to others events that have happened several ages ago. There are public buildings throughout the country which are used as magazines of these quippos.

To the south of the equator, and near the coast, is the island of *Puna* [18], about twelve leagues in circumference, containing abundance of game, and having great quantities of fish on its shores. It has plenty of fresh water, and was formerly very populous, its inhabitants being almost continually engaged in war, especially with the people of *Tumbez*, which is twelve leagues distant to the south. These people wore shirts, above which they had a kind of woollen garments. They went to sea in a peculiar kind of flats or rafts, made of long planks of a light wood fixed to two other cross planks below them to hold them together. The upper planks are always an uneven number, usually five, but sometimes seven or nine; that in the middle, on which the conductor of the float sits and rows, being longer than the others, which are shorter and shorter toward the sides, and they are covered by a species of awning to keep those who sit upon them from the weather. Some of these floats are large enough to carry fifty

17 This is merely a repetition of the *big bones* of Mexico and the Ohio, already referred to the Mammoth, or animal ignotum.---E.

18 Puna is in the bay of Guayaquil, in lat. 3° S. and is near *thirty* leagues in circumference, being about *ten* leagues long by five in breadth.---E.

fifty men and three horses, and are navigated both by oars and sails, in the use of which the Indians are very expert. Sometimes, when the Spaniards have trusted themselves on these floats, the Indian rowers have contrived to loosen the planks, leaving the christians to perish, and saving themselves by swimming. The Indians of that island were armed with bows and slings, and with maces and axes of silver and copper. They had likewise spears or lances, having heads made of gold very much alloyed; and both men and women wore rings and other ornaments of gold, and their most ordinary utensils were made of gold and silver. The lord of this island was much feared and respected by his subjects, and so extremely jealous of his women, that those who had the care of them were not only eunuchs, but had their noses cut off. In a small island near Puna, there was found in a house the representation of a garden, having the figures of various trees and plants artificially made of gold and silver.

Opposite to the island of Puna on the main land, there dwelt a nation or tribe which had given so much offence to the king of Peru, that they were obliged as a punishment to extirpate all their upper teeth; in consequence of which, even now, the people of that district have no teeth in their upper jaws. From Tumbez for five hundred leagues to the south along the coast of the south sea, and for ten leagues in breadth, more or less according to the distance between the sea and the mountains, it never rains or thunders. But on the mountains which bound that maritime plain, there are both rain and thunder, and the climate has the vicissitudes of summer and winter nearly as in Spain. While it is winter in the mountain, it is summer all along the coast; and on the contrary, during the summer on the mountain the coast has what may be termed winter. The length of Peru, from the city of *St Juan de Parto* to the province of Chili lately discovered, is above 1800 [19] leagues of Castille. Along the whole of that length, a vast chain of exceedingly high and desert mountains extends from north to south, in some places fifteen or twenty leagues distant from the sea, and less in others. The whole country is thus divided into two portions, all the space between

19 The estimate in the text is exceedingly erroneous. The city of Parto is in lat. 1° 12′ N. and the Rio de Loa, or commencement of the desert of Atacama, in lat. 21° 26′ S. which give only a difference of nearly 25 degrees of latitude, which at $17\frac{1}{2}$ Spanish leagues to the degree are only 438 leagues. Even supposing the text to include Chili, which extends to 39° 21′ S. the whole extent of Peru and Chili is only 753 Spanish leagues.----E.

tween the mountains and the sea being denominated *the plain*, and all beyond is called the mountain.

The whole plain of Peru is sandy and extremely arid, as it never has any rain, and there are no springs or wells, nor any rivulets, except in four or five places near the sea, where the water is brackish. The only water used by the inhabitants is from torents which come down from the mountain, and which are there formed by rain and the melting of snow, as there are even very few springs in the mountainous part of the country. In some places, these torrents or mountain-streams are twelve fifteen or twenty leagues distance from each other, but generally only seven or eight leagues; and travellers for the most part are under the necessity of regulating their days journies by these streams or rivers, that they may have water for themselves and cattle. Along these rivers, for the breadth of a league, more or less according to the nature of the soil, there are some groves and fruit-trees, and maize fields cultivated by the Indians, to which wheat has been added since the establishment of the Spaniards. For the purpose of irrigating or watering these cultivated fields, small canals are dug from the rivers, to conduct the water wherever it is necessary and where that can be done; and in the construction of these the natives are exceedingly ingenious and careful, having often to draw these canals seven or eight leagues by various circuits to avoid intermediate hollows, although perhaps the whole breadth of the vale may not exceed half a league. In all these smaller vales along the streams and torrents, from the mountain to the sea, the country is exceedingly fertile and agreeable. Several of these torrents are so large and deep, such as those of Santa, Baranca, and others, that without the assistance of the Indians, who break and diminish for a short time the force of the current, by means of piles and branches forming a temporary wear or dike, the Spaniards would be unable to pass. In these hazardous passages, it was necessary to get over with all possible expedition, to avoid the violence of the stream, which often rolled down very large stones. Travellers in the plain of Peru, when going north or south, almost always keep within sight of the sea, where the torrents are less violent, owing to the greater flatness of the plain as it recedes from the mountain. Yet in winter the passage of these torrents is extremely dangerous, as they cannot be then forded, and must be crossed in barks or floats like those formerly mentioned, or on a kind of rafts made of gourds inclosed in a net,

on

on which the passenger reclines, while one Indian swims before pulling the raft after him with a rope, and another Indian swims behind and pushes the raft before him.

On the borders of these rivers there are various kinds of fruit-trees, cotton-trees, willows, and many kinds of canes, reeds, and sedges. The watered land is extremely fertile, and is kept under continual cultivation; wheat and maize being sown and reaped all the year through. The Indians in the plain seldom have any houses, or at best a kind of rude huts or cabins made of branches of trees, often dwelling under the shade of trees, without any habitation whatever. The women are habited in long dresses of cotton which descend to their feet; while the men wear breeches and vests which come down to their knees, and have a kind of cloak or mantle thrown over their shoulders. They are all dressed in a similar manner, having no distinctions except in their head-dresses, according to rank or the different districts of the country; some wearing a tuft of wool, others a single cord, and others several cords of different colours. All the Indians of the plain are distributed into three orders; the first named *Yungas*, the second *Tallanes*, and the third *Mochicas*. Every province has its own peculiar language or dialect, different from all the rest. But all the caciques or principal people and nobles of the country, besides the language peculiar to their respective countries or districts, were obliged to understand and speak the language of Cuzco. One of the Peruvian kings, named Huana Capac, the father of Atahualpa or Atabalipa, was much displeased that the caciques and principal people of his empire should be under the necessity of employing interpreters when they had occasion to speak to him; and gave orders that all the caciques and their relatives should send their children to reside at court, to be instructed in the language of Cuzco which was spoken by the Incas. This was the ostensible reason of the measure; but in reality he wished to have these children in his power, to serve as hostages for the loyalty of their parents. By this means, all the nobles of the land came to understand the peculiar language of Cuzco which was spoken at court; just as in Flanders all the nobles and persons of any rank speak French. Owing to this circumstance, as the Spaniards have learnt the language of the Incas, or of Cuzco, they are able to converse with all the principal natives of Peru, both those of the mountain and of the plain.

It may appear difficult to some of my readers to comprehend why no rain should fall in the plain of Peru, considering that the country is bounded along the whole of one side by the sea, where many vapours are constantly ascending, and on the other side by a vast range of mountain which is always enveloped in rain or snow. Those who have carefully considered this singular phenomenon, allege that it is occasioned by the continual prevalence of a strong south-west wind all along the coast and over the whole plain of Peru, which carries off all the vapours which rise from the sea and the land, without allowing them to rise sufficiently high in the air to gather and fall down again in rain. From the tops of the high mountains, these vapours are often seen far beneath on the plain in thick clouds, while all is quite clear and serene on the mountain. By the perpetual blowing of the same wind, the waters of the South-sea have a constant current along the coast to the northward. Others allege a different reason for this current; saying, that the water of the South-sea having only a narrow outlet at the straits of Magellan, which are only two leagues broad, and being there opposed by the Atlantic Ocean, they are forced to return to the northward along the coast of Chili and Peru. This constant wind and current render the navigation exceedingly difficult, from Panama to Peru for the greater part of the year; so that vessels are obliged always to tack to windward against wind and current.

The whole coast of Peru abounds in fish of various kinds, among which are great quantities of sea-calves or seals, of several species. Beyond the river of Tumbez there are no caymans or alligators, which is supposed to be owing to the too great coolness of the sea and rivers, as these animals delight in heat; but it is more probable that their absence from the rivers of Peru is occasioned by their great rapidity, as they usually frequent rivers that are very still. In the whole extent of the plain there are only five cities inhabited by the Christians[20]. The first of these, Puerto Viejo, about one degree south of the line, has very few inhabitants, as it stands in a poor and unwholesome country, in which the principal production

20 This is only to be understood of the period when Zarate wrote, about the middle of the sixteenth century, or two hundred and fifty years ago. The first town he enumerates, Puerto Viejo, is now in the viceroyalty of New Granada.—E.

production of value is a few emeralds. Fifty leagues to the southward, and about fifteen leagues from the coast, is the city of San Miguel, named *Piuru* by the Indians, in a pleasant and fruitful country, but which has no mines of gold or silver. Most people who have occasion to go there are liable to be afflicted with diseases of the eyes. Sixty leagues farther along the coast, is the city of Truxillo, two leagues from the sea, in the valley of Chimo, having a dangerous harbour of difficult approach. This city stands on the banks of a river in a fine plain, which is fertile in wheat and maize, and breeds great abundance of cattle, having plenty of excellent water. Truxillo is very regularly built, and is inhabited by about three hundred Spanish families. About eighty leagues from Truxillo to the south, and in the valley of *Rimac*, stands the city of *Los Reys*, or Lima, because it was founded at Epiphany, vulgarly called the day of the kings. This city is about two leagues from the harbour of *Callao*, an excellent and secure harbour, and is situated on a large river in a fine plain, abounding in grain, and in all kinds of fruit and cattle. All the streets are perfectly straight, and all of them lead towards the country, which may be seen from all parts of the city. This is a most agreeable residence, as the air is always temperate, being never either too hot or too cold at any season of the year. During the four months which constitute the summer in Spain, the air here is somewhat cooler than for the rest of the year; and every day from sun-rise to noon there falls a light dew, somewhat like the mists at Valladolid in Old Spain. Far from being injurious to health, this slight moisture is reckoned an infallible cure for headaches. This part of the country produces the same kinds of fruit as are found in Spain, particularly oranges, citrons, and lemons of all kinds, both sweet and sour, with figs and pomegranates. It might assuredly have produced grapes in great abundance, if the discords which have prevailed in this country had allowed the colonists to plant and cultivate the vine; as it already has several thriving vine plants which have grown from the pips of dried raisins. The neighbouring country produces all kinds of pot herbs and garden vegetables usually cultivated in Spain, in great perfection and abundance. Indeed every thing conspires to assist cultivation at this place, as every plantation has a canal from the river sufficiently large for a mill-stream; and on the main river, the Spaniards have several corn-mills. This city is universally reckoned the

the most salubrious and most agreeable residence in all Peru; and its harbour is so convenient for trade, that people come here from all parts of Peru to provide themselves with necessaries of all kinds, bringing with them the gold and silver which is so abundantly procured from the mines of the other provinces. For these reasons, and because it is nearly central to Peru, it has been chosen by his majesty for the residence of the royal court of audience, to which the inhabitants of all Peru have to carry their law-suits, by which means it is to be presumed that this place will in time become more considerable and very populous. Lima at present, 1550, contains five hundred houses; yet is larger than any city in Spain of fifteen hundred houses, as the square in the centre of the town is very large, and all the streets very wide, and because each house has a plot of eighty feet in front by twice that in depth. The houses likewise are all of one storey, as the country has no wood fit for joists or flooring-deals, every kind which it produces becoming worm-eaten in three years. The houses, however, are large and magnificent, and have many chambers and very convenient apartments. The walls are built on both sides of brick, leaving a hollow between of five feet, which is filled up with hard-rammed earth; in which manner the apartments are carried up to a convenient height, and the windows towards the street are raised considerably above the ground. The stairs leading up are towards the interior court, and in the open air, leading to galleries or corridors, which serve as passages to the several apartments. The roofs are formed of some rough timbers, not even hewn square, which are covered underneath by coloured matts like those of Almeria, or painted canvas, serving as ceilings, to conceal these clumsy joists: and the whole is covered over by way of roofing with branches of trees with their leaves, which keep the rooms cool and effectually exclude the rays of the sun. In this climate there is no call for any defence from rain, which never falls in the plain of Peru.

One hundred and thirty leagues still farther south, is the city of Villahermosa de Arequipa, containing about three hundred houses, in a very healthy situation, abounding in provisions. Though at twelve leagues distance from the sea, this place is very conveniently situated for trade, as vessels can easily import thither by the river Quilca all sorts of European commodities for the supply of the city of Cuzco and the province of Charcas, which are much frequented on account

count of the mines of Potosi and Porco; and from whence large quantities of silver are carried to Arequipa, to be transported by sea to Lima and Panama, which saves a vast expence and risk of land-carriage; now become more difficult since his majesty has forbidden those heavy burdens upon the Indians by which they were formerly oppressed. From this city we travel four hundred leagues by land along the coast of the South Sea to the province of Chili, which was discovered and in part colonized by the governor Pedro de Valdibia, or Baldivia. In the language of the Indians the word *Chili* signifies cold; and it was so named by the Peruvians because of the terribly cold mountains which were necessary to be passed on the way thither from Peru, as will be particularly mentioned when we come to detail the perilous enterprize undertaken by Don Diego de Almagro when he marched to discover that distant country. Such is a rapid view of that portion of Peru which is called *the plain*; to which must be added that the sea along its entire coast is always smooth and tranquil, from which it has been called the *Pacific Ocean*, being never vexed with storms, or disturbed by high and low tides; so that vessels can everywhere ride in perfect security at single anchor.

Those Indians who inhabit the mountainous regions of Peru are entirely different from the inhabitants of the plain, whom they vastly exceed in strength, courage, and mental abilities. They live in a much less savage manner, having houses covered with earth, and being clothed in shirts and mantles made from the wool of their sheep [21]; but their only head-dress consists in a species of bands or fillets. The women wear a species of vestments like shifts without sleeves, and gird their waists with several turns of a woollen girdle, which give them a neat and handsome shape; covering their shoulders with a mantle or plaid of woollen cloth like a large napkin, which they fix round the neck with a large skewer or pin of silver or gold called *topos* in their language, with large broad heads, the edges of which are sharpened so as to serve in some measure the purposes of a knife. These women give great assistance to their husbands in all the labours belonging to husbandry and household affairs, or rather these things fall entirely to their lot. Their complexions are much fairer, and their countenances, manners, and whole appearance, are

21 The wool-bearing animals of Peru, improperly named sheep, are one or other of the species of camel already mentioned in a former note.—E.

are greatly superior in all respects to the natives of the plain. Their countries likewise differ entirely; as instead of the sterile sands which are everywhere interspersed over the plain, the mountain is covered through its whole extent with verdure, and is everywhere furnished with rivulets and springs of fine water, which unite to form the torrents and rivers which descend so impetuously into the plain country. The fields are everywhere full of flowers and plants of infinite varieties, among which are many species like the plants which grow in Spain; such as cresses, lettuce, succory, sorrel, vervain, and others; and vast quantities of wild mulberries, and other fruit-bearing shrubs are found everywhere. There is one particular plant with yellow flowers, having leaves like those of celery, of most admirable virtues. If applied to the most putrid sore, it makes it quite clean and sweet in a short time; but if laid upon a sound place it soon eats to the very bone. There are many fruit-trees in this country of various kinds, carrying abundant crops of fruit as good as those of Spain without having the smallest care taken of them.

There are great numbers of sheep in the mountainous region, part of which are domesticated by the Indians, but vast numbers of them are wild; likewise abundance of deer and roes, many foxes and other smaller animals. The natives often have public hunts of these animals, which they call *chaco*, in which they take great delight. Four or five thousand natives, more or less according to the population of the district, assemble together, and enclose two or three leagues of country by forming a circle, in which at first they are at considerable distances from each other, and by gradually contracting their circle, beating the bushes, and singing certain songs appropriated to the occasion, they drive all the animals of every kind before them to an appointed place in the centre. The whole company at length join in a small circle, holding each other by the hands, and hallooing loudly, by which the beasts are terrified from endeavouring to break through, and are easily taken in nets or even by the hand. Even partridges, hawks, and other birds, are often so astonished by the loud cries of the hunters as to fall down in the circle and allow themselves to be taken. In these mountains there are lions or *pumas*, black bears, wild cats of several kinds, and many species of apes and monkeys. The principal birds, both of the plain and the mountain, are eagles, pigeons, turtle-doves, plovers, quails, parroquets, falcons, owls, geese, white and

 grey

grey herons, and other water fowl; nightingales and other birds of sweet song, many kinds of which have very beautiful plumage. There is one kind of bird very remarkable for its astonishing smallness, not being larger that a grasshopper or large beetle, which however has several very long feathers in its tail. Along the coast there is a species of very large vulture, the wings of which, when extended, measure fifteen or sixteen palms from tip to tip. These birds often make prey of large seals, which they attack when out of the water: On these occasions, some of the birds attack the animal behind; others tear out his eyes; and the rest of the flock tear him on all sides with their beaks, till at length they kill him, and tear him to pieces. Upon the coast of the South Sea there are great numbers of birds named *alcatraz*, somewhat like our ordinary poultry in shape, but so large that each individual may contain three pecks of grain in its crop. These birds feed mostly on fish which they catch in the sea, yet are fond of carrion, which they go in search of thirty or forty leagues inland. The flesh of these birds stinks most abominably, insomuch that some persons who have been driven to the necessity of eating it have died, as if poisoned.

It has been already said, that rain, hail, and snow, fall on the mountainous region of Peru, where in many places it is intensely cold: But in many parts of that region there are deep valleys in which the air is so hot, that the inhabitants have to use various contrivances to defend themselves from the excessive heat. In these vallies there is an herb called *coca*, which is held in very high estimation by the natives: Its leaf resembles that of the *sumach*, and the Indians have learnt from experience that, by keeping a leaf of that plant in their mouth they can prevent themselves for a long time from feeling either hunger or thirst. In many parts of the mountain there is no wood, so that travellers in those parts are obliged to use a species of earth which is found there for the purpose of fuel, and which burns very much like turf or peats. In the mountains there are veins of earth of various colours, and mines both of gold and silver, in which the natives are exceedingly conversant, and are even able to melt and purify these metals with less labour and expence than the Christians. For this purpose they construct furnaces in the mountains, placing always the door of the furnace towards the south, as the wind blows always from that point. The ores are put into these furnaces alternately with dried sheeps dung,

 which

whicd serves as fuel, and by means of the wind the fire is raised to a sufficient power to melt and purify the metal. In melting the vast quantities of silver which has been dug from the mines of Potosi, the furnaces constructed with bellows were found quite inefficient, while these furnaces, named *guayras* by the Indians, which signifies wind-furnaces, answered the purpose effectually.

The soil is everywhere extremely fertile, and gives abundant returns of all the kinds of grain which are there sown; insomuch that from one bushel of seed for the most part an hundred bushels are reaped, sometimes an hundred and fifty, and even as high as two hundred. The natives employ no ploughs, but labour the earth with a kind of hoes; and set their seed into the ground in holes made with a dibble, or pointed stick, just as beans are sown in Spain. All kinds of pot and garden herbs grow so luxuriantly that radishes have been seen at Truxillo as thick as a mans body, yet neither hard nor stringy. Lettuces, cabbages, and all other vegetables grow with similar luxuriance: But the seeds of these must all be brought from Spain; as when raised in the country the produce is by no means so large and fine. The principal food of the Indians is maize, either roasted or boiled, which serves them for bread, and venison of various kinds, which they salt up for use. They likewise use dried fish, and several kinds of roots, one of which named *yuca* resembles skirret; likewise lupines and many other leguminous vegetables. Instead of wine, they make a fermented liquor from maize, which they bury in the earth along with water in tubs or large jars, where it ferments. In this process, besides the maize in its natural state, a certain quantity of maize which has been steeped in a particular manner is used as a ferment; and there are men and women who are versant in the manner of steeping maize, and are hired for this purpose. When this kind of drink is made by means of stagnant water, it is reckoned stronger and better than when running water is used. In the West Indian islands this drink is called *chica*, but the Peruvian name is *azua*. It is either white or red, according to the kind of maize used for its preparation, and inebriates even more readily than Spanish wine; yet the Indians prefer the latter when it can be procured. They make another kind of liquor from the fruit of certain trees, which they call *molles*; but it is by no means so well liked as *azua* from maize.

The first city of the Christians in the mountain of Peru is *Quito*, which is about four degrees to the south of the equator [22]. This city is situated in an agreeable and fertile district; and particularly since 1544 and 1545, when rich mines of gold were discovered in its neighbourhood, it has become populous, and continued to increase fast in the number of its inhabitants; till in the destructive civil wars its people were almost entirely cut off by Gonzalo Pizarro and his adherents, as they favoured the party of the viceroy Blasco Nugnez Vela, who made this place his ordinary residence. The Spaniards had no other establishment in the mountain till the discovery of the province of *Bracamoras* [23], by the captains, Juan Porcel and Vergara, who established some small colonies in these parts, on purpose to continue the discovery and conquest of the interior country; but these establishments have been since entirely ruined, as Gonzalo Pizarro recalled these two captains and their men to assist him in his war. This discovery was made under the orders of the licentiate Vaca de Castro, who was then governor of Peru. The Captain Porcel was sent by him from S. Miguel de Piura, and Vergara into the province of *Chachapoyas* farther to the south; but they unexpectedly met each other in the course of their exploration of the country, and quarrelled about the boundaries of their discoveries, in consequence of which they were recalled by Vaco de Castro, and were at Lima at the commencement of the civil war in the service of the viceroy; and when he was made prisoner they entered into the party of Gonzalo Pizarro. The place which they discovered, called Bracamoras, is a hundred and sixty leagues from Quito by way of the mountain; and eighty leagues farther south they discovered a province named Chachapoyas, where there is a small Christian town named *Levanto* [24]. This province abounds in provisions, and has mines of some value. Its situation is peculiarly strong against an enemy, as it is surrounded

22 Instead of *four* degrees, Quito is only the *fourth* part of a degree beyond the line.—E.

23 Bracamoras, or Jaen de Bracamoras, in lat. 5° 30′ S. is in the district or province of Jaen in the kingdom of New Granada, on one of the branches of the Lauricocha or Tanguragua, which is one of the great rivers which contribute to form the vast Maranon, or river of the Amazons.—E.

24 No place of that name is now found in our best maps. The principal town of the district of Chachapoyas has the same name, otherwise called St Juan de la Frontera.—E.

ed on all sides by a deep valley, in which runs a considerable river; so that by breaking down the bridges, it may be made very difficult of access. The Maestre de Campo Alfonzo de Alvarado, who held the command of this province, established a colony of Christians at this place.

Sixty leagues farther to the south, in the district of *Guanuco*, Vaco de Castro established a colony which he ordered to be called *Leon*, as he came from the city of that name in Spain. The country of Guanuco is fertile and abounds in provisions; and valuable mines are believed to exist on that side which is occupied by a warlike and powerful inca in a province of the Andes, as shall be mentioned hereafter [25]. There is no other place in the mountains farther south which has been as yet settled by the Christians, till we come to the province of *Guamanga*, in which is a small town named San Juan de la Vittoria [26], which is sixty leagues from Leon. In San Juan there are very few Spaniards, but their number is expected to increase, if the neighbouring inca can be induced to submit to peace; as he at present occupies the best lands belonging to that city, in which there are many mines, and which produces the herb called *coca* in great abundance, formerly mentioned as of great value. The town of Guamanga is about eighty leagues from the city of Cuzco; the road between being exceedingly difficult, as it goes over high and precipitous mountains, and through very dangerous passes.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the kings of Peru resided in the city of Cuzco, whence they governed the whole of this great country of which I have endeavoured to give some account, and which will be more particularly treated of in the sequel of this history. This city served as the common centre for all the chiefs or caciques of this vast kingdom, to which they resorted from all quarters, to pay their tributes to the king, and to obtain justice in case of disputes among each other. At that time Cuzco was the only place in all Peru that had the least resemblance to a city. It had even a strong fortress, built of such enormous dressed stones, that it was very wonderful to conceive in what manner the Indians had

25 Not far to the south of San Leon de Guanuco, in the mountains of Lauricocha, there are considerable silver mines.—E.

26 No such place is now found on our maps in the province of Guamanga; but the ruins of a town named Vittoria are marked in the district of Calca, about fifty miles north-west from the city of Cuzco. Perhaps the Vittoria of the text is the town now called Guamanga.—E.

had been able to transport such vast masses of stone without the aid of any animals of draught. In fact some of these are so large that they would have required ten yokes of oxen to have dragged them along on a fit carriage. The houses which are now inhabited by the Spaniards are the same which were formerly occupied by the Indians; some of which houses have been merely repaired and others enlarged by their present possessors. This city was formerly divided into four quarters, corresponding to the four cardinal points; and by orders of the *Incas*, or sovereigns of Peru, all those natives who came to the capital were obliged to lodge in the particular quarter which was towards the direction of the province from whence they came, under severe penalties. The south quarter of the city was named *Colla-sugo*, from the province of *Collao* which lay to the south. The northern quarter was named *Chinca-sugo*, from the large and renowned province of *Chinca* [27] in that direction. The eastern and western quarters were respectively named *Ande-sugo* and *Conde-sugo*. The country about Cuzco is extremely fertile, and abounds in all kinds of provisions, and the climate is so healthy that the inhabitants are seldom if ever sick. Around the city there are many rich mines, whence all the gold which has been hitherto sent into Spain was procured. These indeed have been nearly abandoned since the discovery of the rich silver mines of Potosi; both because much greater profit may be made from these other mines of silver, and because the working of these are far less dangerous both to the Indians and Spaniards who are there employed.

From the city of Cuzco to that of La Plata in the province of Charcas, the distance is more than a hundred and fifty leagues, between which two places there is a large flat province named *Collao*, above fifty leagues long; the principal part of which, named *Chiquito*, belongs to his majesty. Seeing so large an extent of country unoccupied by the Spaniards, the licentiate De la Gasca sent some people there in 1545 to commence an establishment. The city of La Plata is situated in the coldest part of all the mountainous region of Peru, and has very few inhabitants, but these are extremely rich, and spend the greatest part of the year in the mines of *Porco*, and in those of *Potosi* since their discovery. Towards the left

27 Probably the country of the people now called *Chunchos*, who are implacable enemies to the Spaniards.—E.

left hand or the east from La Plata, a new province was explored by Diego de Rojas and Philip Gutierez, by the order of Vaca de Castro, which was named *Rojas*[28] from one of these captains. It is said to be fertile and abounding in provisions, but they have not found so much riches there as was expected. Captain Domingo de Ytala and his companions came by that way into Peru in 1549, having remounted the Rio Plata from the Atlantic Ocean.

Such is the state and situation of all that has been hitherto discovered of this vast country of Peru, which is chiefly known along the coast of the South Sea, and has not been much explored in its inland parts, on account of the vast quantity of lofty and rude mountains, by which it is everywhere pervaded, and which are extremely difficult to pass; because of their height and precipitous nature, the excessive cold which prevails among them, and the scarcity of food. Yet the industry and courage of the Spaniards would have overcome all these obstacles, if there were any hope of finding a rich country beyond.

As the Peruvians were ignorant of writing they knew nothing respecting the history of the creation and deluge or of their own origin. They had however some tradition among them, which had been altered from age to age according to the fancies of the reciters. They said that there came anciently from the north, a man who had no bones or joints, and who was able to shorten or lengthen the way before him as he thought fit, and to elevate or depress the mountains at his pleasure. By this man the ancient Indians were created; and as those of the plain had given him some cause of displeasure, he rendered their country sterile and sandy as it now is, and commanded that it should never rain in that district; yet sent them the rivers and torrents which run through it, that they might have wherewithal to quench their thirst. This person, named *Con*, who they allege was son of the sun and moon, they esteemed and adored as a god, pretending that he had given the herbs and wild fruits as food for the people whom he had created. After him came another man from the south, named *Pachacamac*, or the creator, who was likewise the son of the sun and moon, but more powerful than *Con*

28. Probably the province now called *Chicas* on the eastern side of the Andes, occupying the head of the river Chirivionas which joins the Paraguay or Rio Plata.—E.

Con, who disappeared on his arrival, leaving the men whom he had created without chiefs or laws, and Pachacamac transformed them all into various animals, as birds, cats, bears, lions, and the like, giving origin in this manner to all the beasts and birds which are now found in the country. After this Pachacamac created the present race of Indians, teaching them the art of labouring the ground for the cultivation of plants of various kinds for food. Pachacamac is considered as a god, and all the principal persons among the Peruvians are desirous of being buried in the province named from him Pachacamac, as he resided there, which is about four leagues from the city of Lima[29]. They pretended that their god Pachacamac continued several ages among them, even to the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, since when he has disappeared. Hence we may presume that he was some demon by whom they were miserably abused and misled, and who filled their minds with so many extravagant absurd fables.

The Indians believe likewise, that even before Con and Pachacamac, there was a great deluge, during which mankind saved themselves in great caves in the high mountains, into which they carried a store of food, shutting up the entries, and carefully filling up all the crevices, to keep out the water. After a long while, they sent out some dogs, who returned to them all wet but not dirtied with mud, from which circumstance they concluded that the waters still remained very high, and they did not venture to leave their caverns till the dogs came back a second time all covered with mud. They allege that great numbers of serpents were engendered by the moisture left in the earth by this deluge, by which their ancestors were much distressed for a long time, till they at length succeeded to extirpate them. From this tradition they appear to have retained some confused notion of the deluge, although they were ignorant of the way in which Noah and seven other persons were saved in the ark to repeople the whole earth. Perhaps their tradition may refer to some partial deluge, like that of Deucalion.

The have a notion that the world is to come to an end; before which there is to be a great drought, when no rain is to fall for several years. On this account, in former times, the

29 Off the mouth of the river Lurin, in lat. 12° 26′ S. is the island of Pachacamac, probably indicating the situation of the ancient province of that name.—E.

the caciques used to lay up large magazines of maize to serve them during the long drought. Even yet, the more timid among the Peruvians make a great lamentation when the sun or moon are eclipsed, believing the end of the world to be at hand; as they allege that these luminaries are to be extinguished at the destruction of the world.

The Peruvians worship the Sun and Moon as deities, and swear by these luminaries and by the earth, which they consider as their mother. In their temples they adore certain stones, as representatives of the sun, which they name *guacas*, a word signifying to weep, which they do on entering into their temples. No person is permitted to approach these guacas except the priests who sacrifice to these idols, who are all clothed in white. When they go up to their idols, they carry certain white cloths in their hands, prostrating themselves and crawling on the earth, and addressing their idols in a language which is not understood by any of the natives. By these priests all the offerings for the idols are received and buried in the temples, as the Indian votaries make gifts of figures in gold or silver of those things for which they address their prayers to the guaca. These priests likewise offer sacrifices of animals and even of men to their gods, searching the hearts and intrails of the victims for certain signs which they wish to find, and repeating their abominable sacrifices until they meet with those signs which they desire; pretending that the idols are not satisfied by the sacrifices till these appear. During all the time that the priests are engaged in sacrificing, they never appear in public, neither have they any intercourse with women, and employ themselves all night in loud cries, invoking the demons near to the places in which the guacas are kept, which are extremely numerous, as most houses have each their own guaca. The priests prepare themselves for having intercourse with the demons by long fasts, after which they tie up their eyes and some even carry their superstition to such excess as to put out their own eyes. The caciques and other great men among the Peruvians never undertake any affair of importance without having first consulted the idols, or demons rather, by means of the priests.

In the temples of the sun the Spaniards found several large earthen jars containing the dried bodies of children which had been sacrificed. Among the figures of gold and silver which were used as ornaments to the guacas, there were several which had a strong resemblance to the mitres and crosiers of

our

our bishops, and some of these idols were found having mitres on their heads. When Thomas de Verlanga, bishop of Tierra Firma travelled through Peru, with his mitre, in which he was seen by the Indians celebrating the mass, they asked if he was the guaca of the Christians. When asked the reason of these mitres, they could only say that they had been handed down from their ancestors. In every part of Peru there were certain houses or monasteries, which were inhabited by women who were consecrated to the sun. These women never went out, but were perpetually employed in spinning cotton and wool, which they wove into cloth, and then burned along with the bones of white sheep, throwing the ashes into the air in honour of the sun. These women were consecrated to perpetual celibacy, and were put to death if found to be with child, unless they could swear that their child was begotten by the sun.

Every year, at the season of the maize harvest, the mountaineer Peruvians had a solemn festival; on which occasion they set up two tall straight trees like masts, on the top of which was placed the figure of a man surrounded by other figures and adorned with flowers. The inhabitants went in procession armed with bows and arrows and regularly marshalled into companies, beating their drums and with great outcries and rejoicings, each company in succession discharging their arrows at the dressed up figure. After which the priests set up an idol at the bottom of the masts, before which they sacrificed a man or a sheep, sprinkling the idol with the blood of the victim; and having inspected the heart and entrails of the sacrifice, they reported the signs they had discovered to the people, who were sad or rejoiced according as these were good or bad. The whole of this festival was usually spent in dancing and drinking, and in various games and sports, some of which were warlike exercises, with maces clubs axes and other arms.

All the caciques and other principal inhabitants of Peru are reposited after their death in a kind of vaults, clothed in all their richest dresses, and seated in a kind of chairs which they name *duos*. It was customary also to bury along with them one or two of their best beloved wives, and on this occasion the honour was frequently contested among the wives of the deceased, unless when the husband had previously settled who were to be chosen to accompany him in the tomb. Two or three youths of their train, and all their gold and silver-plate used

used also to be buried along with them; all of which was done in the hope of one day rising again from the dead, and that they might then appear in proper style, accompanied by their wives and servants. When the Spaniards broke up these sepulchres on purpose to take possession of their buried treasures, the Peruvians requested of them not to disturb the bones of the dead, that they might not be hindered in their resurrection. In the burial ceremony, the relations of the deceased used to pour some of the liquor formerly mentioned, named *Chica*, into the grave, of which a portion was conveyed by some hollow canes into the mouth of the dead person. On the top of the tomb or sepulchre, wooden images were placed, representing the appearance of the deceased; but on the graves of the lower orders, they satisfied themselves by some painted emblems of their profession or employment, more especially if they happened to be warriors.

In all the provinces of Peru there were certain nobles or principal persons, of whom the chiefs or rulers were named *curacas*, similar in every respect to the caciques of the islands. As the Spaniards who conquered Peru had been accustomed to name many things according to the language of Hispaniola and Cuba, and were at first ignorant of the Peruvian language, they continued to employ the terms to which they had been accustomed; and the Peruvians have so far accommodated themselves to this language, especially in speaking to the Spaniards, that they mostly use these terms. Thus they call those chiefs *caciques*, who in their own language are named *curacas*; their bread corn and drink, which in the Peruvian are *zara* and *azua*, they denominate *maize* and *chica*, which names were brought from the islands by the Spaniards. These curacas or caciques were the judges and protectors of their subjects in peace, and their leaders in war against the neighbouring tribes. The whole people of Peru lived in that manner for many years under a multiplicity of independent chiefs, having no king or supreme chief; until at length a warlike nation came from the environs of the great lake Titicaca named the Incas in the language of Peru. These men had their heads close shaven, and their ears pierced, in which they wore large round pendents of gold, by which their ears were dragged down upon their shoulders, in consequence of which they were called *ringrim*, or the large ears.

ears. Their chief was called *Zapalla Inca* [30], or the only king; though others say that he was named *Inca Vira cocha*, or the king from the scum of the lake, because the astonished natives, not knowing the origin of their invaders, believed that they had started into existence from the scum or mud of the great lake. This great lake of Titicaca is about eighty leagues in circumference, from which a large river runs to the southwards, which in some places is half a league in breadth, and which discharges its waters into a small lake about forty leagues from the great lake, which has no outlet. This circumstance gives great astonishment to many, who are unable to comprehend how so vast a body of water should disappear in so small a reservoir. As this smaller lake appears to have no bottom, some conceive that it discharges itself into the sea by some subterranean communication, like the river Alphæus in Greece.

These Incas established themselves in the first place at Cuzco, from whence they gradually extended their sway over the whole of Peru, which became tributary to them. The empire of the Incas descended in successive order, but not by immediate hereditary rules. On the death of a king, he was succeeded by his immediately younger brother; and on his demise the eldest son of the preceding king was called to the throne; so as always to have on the throne a prince of full age. The royal ornament worn by the supreme Inca in place of a crown or diadem, consisted in a fringe of coloured worsted from one temple to the other, reaching almost to the eyes. He governed their extensive empire with much grandeur and absolute power; and perhaps there never was a country in the world where the subjects were so submissive and obedient. They had only to place a single thread drawn from their diadem in the hands of one of the *ringrim* or great ears, by which he communicated to this deputy the most absolute delegation of power, which was respected and obeyed over the whole empire. Alone, and without troops or attendants, the message or order which he carried was instantly obeyed, were it even to lay waste a whole province, and to exterminate every one of its inhabitants; as on the sight of this thread from the royal fillet, every one offered themselves voluntarily to death, without a single murmur or the slightest resistance.

In

30 The first of the Incas is named by Robertson, II. 290. and III. 47. Manco Capac.—E.

In the before mentioned order of succession, the empire of the Incas fell in process of time to a sovereign named *Huana Capac* [31], which signifies the young rich man. This prince made great conquests, and augmented the empire more considerably than had been done by any one of his predecessors, and ruled over the whole more reasonably and with greater justice and equity than had ever been done by the former sovereigns. He established everywhere the most perfect police, and exact rules for cultivating the earth; ruling and governing among a barbarous and ignorant nation with the most surprising order and justice; and the love and obedience of his subjects was equally wonderful and perfect. They gave him a signal proof of this, worthy of being mentioned, in the construction of two roads through the whole extent of Peru for his more convenient travelling; of which the difficulty labour and expence equal or even surpass all that the ancients have written of the seven wonders of the world. Huana Capac, in marching from Cuzco to conquer the kingdom of Quito, had to march five hundred leagues by the mountains, where he had everywhere to encounter excessive difficulties, from bad roads, rocks, precipices and ravines, almost impracticable in many places. After he had successfully executed this great enterprize, by the conquest and submission of Quito and its dependencies, his subjects conceived that it was incumbent on them to do honour to his victorious career, by preparing a commodious road for his triumphant return to Cuzco. They accordingly undertook, and executed by prodigious labour, a broad and easy road through the mountains of five hundred leagues in length, in the course of which they had often to dig away vast rocks, and to fill up valleys and precipices of thirty to forty yards in depth. It is said that this road, when first made, was so smooth and level that it would have admitted a coach with the utmost ease through its whole length; but since that time it has suffered great injuries, especially during the wars between the Spaniards and the Peruvians, having been broken up in many places, on purpose to obstruct the invasion of the enemy. The grandeur and difficulty of this vast undertaking may be readily conceived, by considering the labour and cost which has been expended

31 By Zarate this Inca is named Guaynacava, but the more general name used by Garcilasso de la Vega and other Spanish writers, and from them by the illustrious Robertson, is adopted in this translation.—E.

expended in Spain to level only two leagues of a mountain road between Segovia and Guadarrama, and which after all has never been brought to any degree of perfection, although the usual passage of the king and court on travelling to or from Andalusia or the kingdom of Toledo. Not satisfied with this first astonishing labour, the Peruvians soon afterwards undertook another of a similar and no less grand and difficult kind. Huana Capac was fond of visiting the kingdom of Quito which he had conquered, and proposed to travel thither from Cuzco by way of the plain, so as to visit the whole of his extensive dominions. For his accommodation likewise, his subjects undertook to make a road also in the plain; and for this purpose they constructed high mounds of earth across all the small vallies formed by the various rivers and torrents which descend from the mountain, that the road might be everywhere smooth and level. This road was near forty feet wide, and where it crossed the sandy heights which intervene betwixt the verdant vallies of the torrents, it was marked on each side by stakes, forming palings in straight lines to prevent any one losing the way. This road was five hundred leagues in length like that of the mountain; but the palings are now wanting in many places, the wood of which they were constructed having been used by the Spaniards for fuel during the war; but the mounds still exist across the vallies, and most of them are yet tolerably entire, by which the grandeur of the entire work may be judged of. In his journeys to and from Quito, Huana Capac used to go by one of these roads and return by the other; and during his whole journey his subjects used to strew the way with branches and flowers of the richest perfume.

Besides the two great roads already mentioned, Huana Capac ordered to be built on the mountain road a number of large palaces, at the distance of a days journey from each other, having a prodigious number of apartments, sufficient to lodge his own personal suite and all his army. Such were likewise built along the road in the plain, but not so numerous or so near each other as on the mountain road, as these palaces of the plain had all to be placed on the sides of the rivers for convenience and the procurement of provisions and other necessaries; so that they were in some places eight or ten leagues distant from each other, and in other places fifteen or twenty leagues. These buildings

ings were named *tambos*, and the neighbouring Indians were bound to furnish each of these with provisions and every thing else that might be wanted for the royal armies; insomuch that in each of these *tambos*, in case of necessity, clothing and arms could be had for twenty or thirty thousand men. Huana Capac was always escorted by a considerable body of soldiers, armed with lances, halberts, maces, and battle axes, made of silver or copper, and some of them even of gold.

In their armies, besides these arms, the Peruvians used slings, and javelins having their points hardened in the fire. On such parts of their rivers as furnished materials for the purpose, they built wooden bridges; and where timber could not be had, they stretched across the stream two large cables made of a plant named *maguey*, forming a kind of net work between these of smaller ropes and masts, strong enough to answer the purpose of a bridge. In this manner they constructed bridges of a surprizing magnitude; some of them being thirty yards broad and four hundred yards long [32]. In such places as did not admit of the construction of bridges, they passed over rivers by means of a cable or thick rope extended from side to side, on which they hung a large basket, which was drawn over by means of a smaller rope. All these bridges were kept in repair by the inhabitants of the districts in which they stood.

The king of Peru was always carried in a species of litter covered over with plates of gold, and was attended by more than a thousand of the principal native nobles, who relieved each other in carrying the royal litter on their shoulders. All these men were counsellors, principal officers of the household, or favourites of the prince. The caciques or curacas of the different provinces were likewise carried in litters on the shoulders of their vassals. The Peruvians were exceedingly submissive to their sovereigns, insomuch that even the most powerful lord always entered the presence barefooted, and carrying some present wrapped up in a cloth, as a mark of homage; and even if one person had occasion to go an hundred

32 Garcilasso de la Vega, p. 65, describes the bridge over the Apurimac not far from Cuzco, as about two hundred paces in length. He says that its floor consisted of three great cables as thick as the body of a man; having another cable on each side, a little raised, to serve as rails. The two hundred toises or four hundred yards of the text seem an exaggeration; perhaps a mistake of the French translator.—E.

red times in one day to speak to the king, the present had to be repeated every time he went. To look the king in the face was considered as a criminal disrespect; and if any one should happen to stumble while carrying the royal litter, so as to make it fall, his head was immediately cut off. At every half league on the public roads throughout the whole empire, there were Indians in constant attendance to relieve each other in carrying dispatches, which they did swifter than our post horses. When any province or district was subdued, the natives of the place, or at least all their chiefs and principal people, were immediately removed to other parts of the empire, and natives from other places which had been long subjected were sent to occupy the new conquest, by which means the fidelity and submission of the whole were secured. From every province of the empire, yearly tributes of the several productions of their respective countries were sent to the king; and even some sterile districts above three hundred leagues distant from Cuzco, had to send yearly a number of lizards as a mark of their submission, having nothing of any value to send. Huana Capac rebuilt the temple of the sun at Cuzco, and covered over all the walls and the roof of that structure with plates of gold and silver. During his reign, one Chimocappa, who was curaca or prince of a large district in the plain, above a hundred leagues in length, chose to erect the standard of rebellion; but Huana Capac marched against him in person, defeated him in battle, and put him to death; after which he commanded that the Indians of the plain should not be permitted to carry arms. Yet he allowed the son and successor of Chimocappa to remain in the province of *Chimo*, in which the city of Truzillo has been since built.

Peru was astonishingly full of those animals called sheep; as Huana Capac and his predecessors had established laws for their multiplication and preservation. Every year a certain proportion of these animals belonging to individuals were set apart as a kind of tythe or offering to the sun, and these consecrated animals multiplied greatly, no person being allowed to injure them under pain of sacrilege, except the prince only for his own use or that of his army. On such occasions, he gave orders for one of these hunts called *chacos*, formerly mentioned, at some of which twenty or thirty thousand sheep have been taken at one time. Gold was in great request among the Peruvians, as the king and all the principal persons of the empire used it for the construction of vessels for all

all uses, as ornaments for their persons, and as offerings to their gods. The king had every where carried along with him a kind of couch or table of gold, of sixteen carats fine, on which he used to sit, and which was worth 25,000 ducats of standard gold. This was chosen by Don Francisco Pizarro, at the time of the conquest, in consequence of an agreement, by which he was authorized to appropriate some single jewel or valuable article to his own use, besides his regular share of the plunder. When the eldest son of Huana Capac was born, he ordered a prodigious chain or cable of gold to be made, so large and heavy that two hundred men were hardly able to lift it. In remembrance of this circumstance, the infant was named *Huascar*, which signifies a cable or large rope, as the Peruvians have no word in their language signifying a chain. To this name of Huascar was added the surname Inca, belonging to all their kings, just as Augustus was given to all the Roman emperors. Huana Capac had several large magazines full of gold in various shapes, such as the figures of men and women, of sheep and animals of all kinds, and of all the kinds of plants which are found in the country, all accurately represented. He had also great quantities of vestments of various kinds, and many slings, in which the fabric was mixed with gold threads; and many bars of gold and silver made like billets of fire wood.

Although the main object of this history is to relate the Spanish Discovery and Conquest of Peru, it seems proper to explain the circumstances under which they found the affairs of that empire at their arrival; by which we shall have occasion to admire the wisdom of Providence, in permitting that enterprize to take place at a time when that vast country was divided into two hostile parties, which greatly facilitated the conquest. After Huana Capac had reduced many provinces to submission, to the extent of five hundred leagues from Cuzco, he undertook in person to make the conquest of the kingdom of Quito, which bounded with his empire in the north-west. Having successfully accomplished that great enterprise, finding the country exceedingly pleasant, he continued to reside there for a long while, leaving at Cuzco several of his children, both sons and daughters, among whom were his eldest son Huascar Inca, Manco Inca, Paul Inca, and several others. While at Quito, he took to wife the daughter of the former lord of that country, by whom he had a son named Atahualpa or Atabalipa, of whom he was very fond, and whom he left to be

be educated in Quito when he returned to Cuzco. After residing for some years in Cuzco, he made a journey back to Quito, partly because he delighted in that country which he had subdued, and partly from affection for his son Atahualpa, whom he loved more than all the rest of his children. He continued to reside in Quito all the rest of his life; and at his death, he bequeathed the kingdom of Quito to Atahualpa [33], which had belonged to his maternal ancestors. On his death, Atahualpa secured the affection of the army, and got possession of all the treasure which his father had in Quito, but the far greater proportion of the treasure remained in Cuzco, as too heavy for transportation, and accordingly fell to Huascar, the eldest son.

Atahualpa sent ambassadors to his eldest brother Huascar, informing him of the death of their father, and assuring him of his loyalty and obedience; yet requesting that he might be permitted to retain the command of the kingdom of Quito, the conquest of his father; which he alleged was beyond the limits of the Peruvian empire, and ought not therefore to follow the ordinary rules of primogeniture, more especially as Atahualpa was the legitimate heir of that country in right of his mother and grandfather. Huascar sent back for answer, that if Atahualpa would come to Cuzco and give up the army, he should receive lands and possessions sufficient to enable him to live according to his rank; but that he would on no account give up Quito, a frontier province of the empire, where of course he must keep up a body of troops for the defence of the whole. Huascar added, that if Atahualpa refused submission to these conditions, he would march in person against him as a declared enemy. On receiving this message, Atahualpa consulted two of his fathers principal officers, Quiz-quiz and Cilicuchima, brave and experienced warriors, who advised him not to wait the invasion of his brother, but to take the field without delay and march against him; as the army which was under his orders was sufficient to enable him to acquire the whole provinces of the empire, and would increase on the march by means of the provinces which intervened between Quito and Cusco. Atahualpa followed this advice and gradually made himself master of the country through which he marched. Huascar, on hearing of the hostile proceed-

33 This prince is called Atabaliba by Zarate, and Atabalipa by some other writers, but we have chosen to follow the illustrious historian of America in naming him Atahualpa.—E.

ings of his brother, sent some light-armed troops against him. The commander of these troops advanced to the province of Tumibamba about a hundred leagues from Quito; and learning that Atahualpa had taken the field, he sent a courier to Cuzco with notice of the state of the affairs, and to request that he might be furnished with two thousand officers of experience; by means of whom he could arm thirty thousand men of the warlike province called *Cagnares* which remained in allegiance to Huascar. These two thousand experienced warriors were immediately sent, by whose means, and with assistance of the curacas of Tumibamba, Chaparras, Paltas, and Cagnares [34], in that neighbourhood, Huascars general was enabled to collect a formidable army. Atahualpa marched against this army, with whom he fought a battle which lasted three days, in which he was at last defeated and made prisoner, in attempting to escape by the bridge of Tumibamba.

While the army of Huascar was celebrating their victory with great feasts and rejoicings, Atahualpa contrived to escape from the *tambos* or palace of Tumibamba in which he was confined, by digging through a very thick wall with a bar of copper, which he procured from a woman. He returned immediately to Quito, where he collected the remains of his defeated army, to whom he represented that his father had changed him into a serpent, by which means he had been enabled to escape from his prison through a small hole; and that his father had assured him of certain victory, if they would return along with him against the enemy. His troops were so much encouraged by this stratagem, that they followed him with great courage, believing themselves invincible under the protection of Huana Capac. He again attacked the army of Huascar, which in this second battle was entirely defeated. Such numbers were slain on both sides in these two battles, that even to this day large quantities of human bones remain in the places where they were fought. In pursuit of his victory, Atahualpa marched into the provinces which adhered to his brother, which he destroyed with fire and sword. He entirely destroyed the great city of Tumibamba, which stood on a plain watered by three great rivers. In pursuing his conquests,

34 These names are not to be found in our best modern maps of Peru; but some other names not unlike, as Mayobamba, Chachapoyas, Partas, and Caxamarca, are in the present bishopric of Truxillo, the most northern in Peru proper, and therefore likely to have been the seat of war against the revolters in Quito.—E.

conquests, he gave no quarter wherever he met with resistance but granted mercy and peace to all such districts as submitted quietly to his authority, obliging all the warriors to join his army, which by these means increased continually as he advanced. On arriving at Tumbez he was desirous to take possession of the island of Puna, but as the *curaca* of that island defended himself courageously, Atahualpa did not think it prudent to waste much time in the attempt, more especially as he had intelligence of the approach of Huascar with a numerous army; for which reason he continued his march towards Cuzco, and arrived at Caxamarca, where he established his head-quarters. From this place he detached two of his principal officers at the head of two or three thousand light armed troops, with orders to reconnoitre the army of the enemy, and to bring him word of their numbers and situation. When this party had arrived at no great distance from the camp of the enemy, they quitted the direct road and made a circuit among the woods and mountains, to prevent the enemy from discovering them. Procuring intelligence that Huascar had retired to a place at some distance from his camp, attended by seven hundred of his principal officers and nobles, on purpose to avoid the noise and confusion of his great army, they attacked his quarters by surprise, easily defeated his small escort, and made him prisoner. While endeavouring to make good their retreat to the camp of Atahualpa with their great prize, they were surrounded on every side by the vast army of the enemy, which could easily have exterminated them, being at least thirty to one. But the commanders of this fortunate detachment, immediately told Huascar that they would put him to death, if he did not instantly give orders to his army to retire: and at the same time assured him that his brother Atahualpa had no farther desire than to be permitted to enjoy the kingdom of Quito in peace, for which he would do homage to him as his king and lord. Huascar, terrified by the prospect of death, and believing their promise of restoration to liberty and dominion, issued peremptory orders to his army to desist from their intended attack and to return to Cuzco, which they did accordingly; and the Atahualpan officers carried Huascar a prisoner to Caxamarca, where they delivered him up to their master. Thus were the affairs of Peru situated when Don Francisco Pizarro arrived in that country with the Spaniards; which conjuncture was exceedingly favourable to his views of conquest, of which we shall

give

give an account in the next section, as the great army of Huascar was entirely dispersed, and Atahualpa had dismissed a great proportion of his troops, after this fortunate event, which had placed his enemy in his hands.

Of the Peruvian History before the arrival of the Spaniards[35].

"Peru, like the rest of the New World, was originally possessed by small independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were so little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preserved among their descendants, deserve credit, they must be classed among the most unimproved savages of America. Strangers to every species of cultivation or regular industry, without any fixed residence, and unacquainted with those sentiments and obligations which form the first bonds of social union, they are said to have roamed naked about the forests with which their country was then covered, more like wild beasts than like men. After they had struggled for ages with the hardships and calamities which are inevitable in such a state, and when no circumstance seemed to indicate the approach of any uncommon effort towards improvement, we are told that there appeared on the banks of the lake Titicaca, a man and woman of majestic form, and clothed in decent garments. They declared themselves to be children of the sun, sent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miseries of the human race, and who had commanded them to instruct and reclaim them. At their persuasion, enforced by reverence for the divinity in whose name they were supposed to speak, several of the dispersed savages united together, and receiving their commands as heavenly instructions, followed them to Cuzco where they settled, and where they begun to lay the foundations of a city, afterwards the capital of Peru.

"Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, for such were the names

35 The whole of this appendix to the first section is an addition to Zarate, extracted from Garcilasso de la Vega and Robertson; which, being too long for a note, has been placed in the text. The introductory part of this deduction is from the History of America, Vol. II p. 289. The list of kings is from Garcilasso, whose disarranged work is too confused for quotation.—E.

names of these extraordinary personages, having thus collected some wandering tribes, formed that social union which, by multiplying the desires, and uniting the efforts of the human species, excites industry and leads to improvement. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture and other useful arts; Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and weave. By the labour of the one sex subsistence became less precarious; by that of the other life was rendered more comfortable. After securing the object of first necessity in an infant state, by providing food, raiment, and habitations for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing such laws and policy as might perpetuate their happiness. By his institutions, the various relations in private life were established, and the duties resulting from them prescribed with such propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of manners. In public administration, the functions of persons in authority were so precisely defined, and the subordination of those under jurisdiction maintained with such a steady hand, that the society in which he presided soon assumed the aspect of a regular and well-governed state.

"Thus, according to the Indian traditions, was founded the empire of the *Incas*, or Lords of Peru. At first its extent was small; as the territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco: But within these narrow limits he exercised an uncontrolled authority. His successors, as their dominions extended, arrogated a similar jurisdiction over the new subjects which they acquired; the despotism of Asia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be sacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distinguished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume. The monarch himself appeared with ensigns of royalty reserved for him alone; and received from his subjects marks of obsequious homage and respect, which approached almost to adoration. But among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarchs seems to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their subjects. It was not the rage of conquests, if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominion,

nion, but the desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they possessed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a succession of twelve monarchs, it is said that not one deviated from this beneficent character.

"When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru in 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province which he had added to his dominions; and notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year 1529, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with greater reputation and splendour than any of his predecessors, the destination of Huana Capac concerning the succession appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Atahualpa first eluded the demand of his brother, and then marched against him in hostile array.

"Thus the ambition of two young princes, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which it had been hitherto a stranger, under a succession of virtuous monarchs. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws.

Atahualpa

Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the throne, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of the unfortunate Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time; that, by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

"When Pizarro landed in the bay of St Matthew, in 1531, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury; and though the two competitors received early accounts of the arrival of the Spaniards, they were so intent upon the operations of a war which they deemed more interesting, that they gave no attention to the motions of an enemy too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure. By this fortunate coincidence of events, of which he could have no foresight, and of which he remained long ignorant from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, Pizarro was permitted to advance unmolested into the centre of a great empire, before any effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards acquired some imperfect knowledge of the struggle between the two contending factions; and the first complete information respecting it was received from messengers sent by Huascar to Pizarro, to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper."

Manco Capac, the first Inca of the Peruvians, is said to have reigned about the middle of the twelfth century, as the traditionary accounts attribute a period of about 400 years between the commencement of his reign and the decease of Huana Capac in 1529, which would place the origin of the monarchy about the year 1129, allowing an average of 30 years to each of 13 successive reigns. The traditions of such ancient matters among an ignorant people are little to be depended on; and even admitting the series of kings to be right as to number, the ordinary average of *twenty* years to each of the *thirteen* successive reigns would only give 260 years for the duration

duration of the monarchy, and would carry back the commencement of the reign of Manco Capac only to the year 1269. The series of these kings, as given by various Spanish writers, according to the traditions of the Peruvians, is as follows:

1. Manco Capac. 2. Sinchi Roca. 3. Lloque Yupanqui. 4. Mayta Capac. 5. Capac Yupanqui. 6. Inca Roca. 7. Yahuar Huacac. 8. Inca Roca, likewise named Viracocha. 9. Pachacutec[36]. 10. Yupanqui. 11. Tupac Yupanqui. 12. Huana Capac. 13. Huascar, or Inti-cusi-Hualpa. 14. Atahualpa. 15. Manco Capac the Second, crowned at Cuzco by permission of Pizarro; afterwards revolted and retired to the mountains. 16. Sayri Tupac; who resigned the nominal sovereignty of Peru to Philip II. He died a Christian, and left one daughter who married a Spaniard named Onez de Loyola, and from whom are desended the marquisses of Orepesa and Alcanises.

As the empire of Peru was made up of many barbarous tribes, its native inhabitants spoke many languages or dialects, which were only understood in their own particular districts. The language of the ruling people or tribe to which the royal family belonged, called the *Quichua*, was solely used at court, and we have already seen that the sons of all the chiefs or curacas of the empire were ordered to be educated at Cuzco, that they might be all able to converse with the sovereign. In this language the sounds of *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, and *r*, are said to have been wanting; and yet that of the *r* occurs in the names of several of their kings. Garcilasso says that this letter had a guttural sound, perhaps resembling the burr, or *parler gras* of the French: And it is alleged that this language of a comparatively barbarous people was nearly as copious and as artificial as the Greek. The following specimens are given in the Modern Geography, III. 585, to which are added two examples of what are called Peruvian poetry, from Garcilasso de la Vega, p. 50. The nouns in this language are declined by altering the terminations thus; *Runa*, a man; *Runap*, of a man; *Runapac*, to a man, &c. The verbs have also moods and tenses, the terminations often extending to a great length.

36 By some authors an Inca Roca is here interposed, who was deposed after a reign of eleven days.—E.

1. Huc	5. Chumpi, picheca.	9. Yscon.
2. Yscay	6. Zocta.	10. Chunca
3. Quimza	7. Canchis.	100. Pachac.
4. Tahua	8. Puzac.	1000. Huaranca.

The Andes	Anti	A Hog	Cuchi
The Arm	Ricra	A House	Huaci
Bad	Mana alli *	A Husband	Coza
The Beard	Zunca	Iron	Quellay
Beauty	Zumay	A King	Capac, Inca
The Belly	Vicza	A Lake	Cocha
A Brother	Huauquey	A Lance	Chuqui
A Canoe	Huampu	Land	Allpa
To Die	Huauny, pitini	Little	Huchuy
A Dog	Alles	Love	Cuyay, munay
To Drink	Upiani	A man	Runa
The Ears	Rinri	The Moon	Quilla
Eared, or having great ears	Ringrim	A Mother	Mama
		A Mountain	Puna, acha
To Eat	Micuni	The Mouth	Simi
An Emerald	Umina	No.	Maria
The Eye	Naui	The Nose	Cenca
A Family	Ayllu	A Queen, or Princess	Coya
Father	Mayu		
Fire	Nina	A Sacrifice	Arpay
Many fires	Ninanina	Sand	Aco
A Fish	Challhua	The Sea	Atun cocha †
Flesh	Aycha		Mama cocha ‡
A Foot	Chaqui	A Ship	Huampu §
A Friend	Cocho	Silver	Collqui
Good	Alli	A Sister	Panay
Gold	Cori	Snow	Riti
Gold dust	Chichi cori	A Son	Churi
Great	Hatun	A Stone	Rumi
A Hatchet	Avri, champi	The Sun	Inti
The Hair	Caspa	Water	Unu, yaco
The Hand	Maqui	Woman	Huami
The Head	Uma	Yes	Y

Specimen of Peruvian poetry.

Caylla Llapi	To the Song
Punungui	I will Sleep,
Chaupitua	At Midnight
Samusac	I will come.

* Not good. † Great Lake. ‡ Mother Lake.

§ Huampu likewise signifies a canoe, and probably a ship might be named Atun huampu, a great canoe.--E.

SECTION II.

Transactions of Pizarro and the Spaniards in Peru, from the commencement of the Conquest, till the departure of Almagro for the Discovery of Chili.

AFTER the return of Don Francisco Pizarro from Spain to Panama, he made every preparation in his power for the conquest of Peru, in which he was not seconded with the same spirit as formerly by his companion Almagro, by which their affairs were considerably retarded, as Almagro was the richer man and had greater credit among the settlers. Diego Almagro, as formerly mentioned, was much dissatisfied with Pizarro for having neglected his interest in his applications to his majesty; but at length became pacified by his apologies and promises, and their friendship was renewed; yet Almagro could never be thoroughly reconciled to the brothers of Pizarro, more especially Ferdinand, against whom he had a rooted dislike. Owing to these disputes a considerable time elapsed; but at length Ferdinand Ponce de Leon [1] fitted out a ship which belonged to him, in which Don Francisco Pizarro embarked with all the soldiers he could procure, which were very few in number, as the people in Panama were much discouraged by the great difficulties and hardships which had been suffered in the former attempt, and the poor success which had then been met with [2]. Pizarro set sail about the commencement of the year 1531; and in consequence of contrary winds was obliged to land on the coast of Peru a hundred leagues more to the north than he intended [3]; by which means he was reduced

1 With regard to this person, the original French translator makes the following observation: "Perhaps this is the person named Hernando de Luque at the beginning of the first section, who is said to have been one of the original adventurers in the enterprize. If so, the name of de Luque on the former occasion may be an error of the press."—It must be observed however, that Garcilasso de la Vega names the third person of the original fraternity Hernando de Luque, and makes no mention whatever of Ponce de Leon.—E.

2 Neither Zarate nor Garcilasso mention the number of troops embarked on this expedition, but we learn from Robertson, II. 206, that the whole armament consisted of 180 soldiers, 36 of whom were horsemen.—E.

3 According to Robertson, II. 293, Pizarro landed in the bay of St Matthew. The distance of 100 Spanish leagues from Tumbez, mentioned by Garcilasso as the intended place of landing, would lead us to the Rio de

duced to the necessity of making a long and painful march down the coast, where he and his troops suffered great hardships from scarcity of provisions, and by the extreme difficulty of crossing the different rivers which intersected their line of march, all of which they had to pass near their mouths, where they are wide and deep, insomuch that both men and horses had often to pass them by swimming. The courage and address of Pizarro was conspicuous amidst these difficulties, by encouraging the soldiers, and frequently exposing himself to danger for their relief, even assisting those who were unable to swim. They arrived at length at a place named *Coaque*[4] on the sea side, which was well peopled, and where they procured abundance of provisions to refresh and restore them after the hardships and privations they had undergone. From that place, Pizarro sent back one of his vessels to Panama, and the other to Nicaragua, sending by them above 30,000 *castillanas*[5] of gold, which he had seized at Coaque, to encourage fresh adventurers to join him, by giving a specimen of the riches of the country. At Coaque the Spaniards found some excellent emeralds, as this country being under the line, is the only place where such precious stones are to be had. Several of these were destroyed by the Spaniards, who broke them in order to examine their nature; as they were so ignorant as to believe that good emeralds ought to bear the hammer without breaking, like diamonds. Believing therefore that the Indians might impose false stones upon them, they broke many of great value through their ignorance. The Spaniards were here afflicted by a singular disease, formerly mentioned, which produced a dangerous kind of warts or wens on their heads faces and other parts of their body, extremely sore and loathsome, of which some of the soldiers died, but most of them recovered, though almost every one was less or more affected.

Leaving Coaque on account of this strange disease, which 1532
Pizarro attributed to the malignity of the air, he marched on to

Santjago in lat. 1° S. on the coast of Tacames or Esmeraldas. Garcilasso says that Pizarro had two vessels, which he immediately sent back to Panama. But these seem to have accompanied the march of Pizarro to Coaque.—E.

4 From the sequel, this place appears to have been in the province of Tacames.—E.

5 A species of gold coin worth 14 reals 18 maravedies. Garcilasso says that Pizarro sent 24000 or 25000 ducats of gold to Almagro, part of which was plunder, and part received in ransom for prisoners.—E.

to that province or district in which *Puerto Viejo* now stands, and easily reduced all the surrounding country to subjection. The captains Sebastian Benalcazar and Juan Fernandez joined him at this place, with a small reinforcement of horse and foot, which they brought from Nicaragua [6].

Having reduced the province of Puerto Viejo to subjection, Pizarro proceeded with all his troops to the harbour of *Tumbez*, whence he determined to pass over into the island of Puna, which is opposite to that port. For this purpose he caused a number of flats or rafts to be constructed after the manner of the Peruvians, formerly mentioned, to transport his men and horses to the island, which is above twenty miles from the river of Tumbez. The Spaniards were in imminent danger in this passage, as the Indians who guided their floats had resolved to cut the cords by which their planks were held together, on purpose to drown the men and horses; but as Pizarro had some suspicion or intimation of their secret intentions, he ordered all his people to be on their guard, constantly sword in hand, and to keep a watchful eye on the Indians. On arriving in the island, the inhabitants received them courteously and requested that there might be peace between them; yet it was soon known that they had concealed their warriors in ambush, with the intention of massacring the Spaniards during the night. When Pizarro was informed of this treachery, he attacked and defeated the Indians, and took the principal cacique of the island; and next morning made himself master of the enemies camp, which was defended by a considerable body of warriors. Learning that another body of the islanders had attacked the flat vessels or rafts in which they had come over, Pizarro and his brothers went in all haste to assist the Spanish guard which had the care of them, and drove away the enemy with considerable slaughter. In these engagements two or three of the Spaniards were killed, and several wounded, among whom was Gonzalo Pizarro, who received a dangerous hurt on the knee.

Soon after this action, Hernando de Soto arrived from Nicaragua with a considerable reinforcement of foot and horse. But finding it difficult to subdue the islanders effectually

6 In making this small progress the whole of the year 1531 had been employed, and the year 1532 was already begun before Pizarro left Coaque. —Roberts. H. of Amer. II. 288.

1532

tually, as they kept their canoes concealed among the mangrove trees which grow in the water, Pizarro resolved to return to Tumbez; more especially as the air of Puna is unwholesome from its extreme heat, and the marshy nature of its shores. For this reason he divided all the gold which had been collected in the island, and abandoned the place. In this island of Puna, the Spaniards found above six hundred prisoners, men and women, belonging to the district of Tumbez, among whom was one of the principal nobles of that place. On the 16th May 1532, Pizarro set all these people at liberty, and supplied them with barks or floats to carry them home to Tumbez; sending likewise in one of these barks along with the liberated Indians, three Spaniards to announce his own speedy arrival. The Indians of Tumbez repaid this great favour with the blackest ingratitude, as immediately on their arrival, they sacrificed these three Spaniards to their abominable idols. Hernando de Soto made a narrow escape from meeting with the same fate: He was embarked on one of these floats, with a single servant, along with some of the Indians, and had already entered the river of Tumbez, when he was seen by Diego de Aguero and Roderick Lozan, who had already landed, and who made him stop the float and land beside them; otherwise, if he had been carried up to Tumbez, he would certainly have been put to death.

From the foregoing treachery of the inhabitants of Tumbez, it may readily be supposed that they were by no means disposed to furnish barks for the disembarkation of the Spanish troops and horses; so that on the first evening, only the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro, with his brothers Ferdinand and Juan, the bishop Don Vincente de Valverde, captain de Soto, and the other two Spaniards already mentioned, Aguero and Lozan, were able to land. These gentlemen had to pass the whole night on horseback entirely wet, as the sea was very rough, and they had no Indians to guide their bark, which the Spaniards did not know how to manage, so that it overset while they were endeavouring to land. In the morning, Ferdinand Pizarro remained on the shore to direct the landing of the troops, while the governor and the others who had landed rode more than two leagues into the country without being able to find a single Indian, as all the natives had armed themselves and retired to the small hills in the neighbourhood. On returning towards the coast, he met

met the captains Mina and Salcedo, who had rode to meet him with several of the cavalry which had disembarked. He returned with them to Tumbez, where he encamped with all the troops he was able to collect.

Soon afterwards, Captain Benalcazar arrived with the rest of the troops from the island of Puna, where he had been obliged to remain till the return of the vessels, as there was not enough of shipping to contain the whole at once. While he waited for the vessels, he had to defend himself from continual attacks of the islanders; but now rejoined the governor with very little loss. Pizarro remained above twenty days at Tumbez, during which time he used every endeavour to persuade the cacique to enter into terms of peace, by sending him repeated messages to that effect, but all to no purpose. On the contrary, the natives did every injury in their power to our people, and especially to the servants and others who went out into the country in search of provisions; while the Spaniards were unable to retaliate, as the Indians kept always on the opposite side of the river. The governor caused three barks or floats to be brought up secretly from the coast, in which he crossed the river during the night, with his brothers Juan and Gonzalo, and the Captains Benalcazar and Soto, with above fifty horsemen. With these he made a very fatiguing march before day, as the road was very difficult and uneven, and full of knolls overgrown with brambles and bushes. About day break he came unexpectedly to the Indian camp, which he immediately attacked and carried, putting many of the natives to the sword; and for fifteen days he pursued them into all their haunts, making a cruel war upon them with fire and sword, in revenge for the three Spaniards whom they had sacrificed. At length, the principal cacique of Tumbez sued for peace, and made some presents of gold and silver in token of submission.

Having thus reduced the province of Tumbez, Pizarro left a part of his troops there under the charge of Antonio de Navarre and Alonso Requelme, the former of whom was Contador or comptroller of accounts, and the latter treasurer, both in the service of his majesty. Taking along with himself the greater part of his troops, he went forwards to the river *Poechos* [7], thirty leagues to the southward of Tumbez,

[7] Perhaps that now called Mancora, intermediate between the river of Tumbez and that of Piura. In this route Pizarro had to cross a mountainous

boz, in which march, as the caciques and inhabitants received him peaceably, he conducted himself in a friendly manner to the natives. Passing beyond the before mentioned river, he came to the bay of Payta, which is the best on all that coast; whence he detached de Soto to reduce the caciques inhabiting the banks of the river Amatape or Chira, in which he succeeded after a slight resistance, all the caciques and natives submitting and demanding peace.

While at this place, Pizarro received a message from Cuzco by certain envoys sent by Huascar, informing him of the revolt of his brother Atahualpa, and requesting his assistance to establish him, as the lawful sovereign, in his just rights [8]. On the receipt of this message, Pizarro determined to take advantage of the divisions in Peru. He sent therefore his brother Ferdinand to Tumbez to bring the troops from thence; and established a colony at San Miguel in the district of Tangarara, near the sea on the river Chira [9], as a port in which to receive vessels coming with reinforcements from Panama. Having placed a garrison in St Miguel, and made a division of all the gold and silver which had been procured since leaving Puna, the governor marched with the rest of his army for the province of Caxamarca, in which he was informed that Atahualpa then was [10].

On this march towards Caxamarca, the Spaniards suffered intolerably, while passing through the dry and burning sandy desert of Sechura, where for above fifty miles they could not find any water to drink, or a single tree to shelter them from the sun. This desert reaches from San Miguel or the river Piura to the province of Motupe, in which latter they found some well peopled vallies full of verdure, and were supplied

ous district, not mentioned by Zarate, called the hills of Castro, Aguarro, and Pachini.—E.

8 Garcillasso suspects that this message must have come from some *curaca* in the interest of Huascar, who was then a prisoner to Atahualpa.—E.

9 San Miguel stands on the river Piuru, which runs into the sea upwards of forty miles farther south than the Chira. This colony being intended for a harbour to receive reinforcements, was probably first established at the mouth of the river, where Sechura now stands. The present town of San Miguel is near thirty miles from the sea.—E.

10 In this adventurous march into the interior of an extensive empire, the forces commanded by Pizarro, who had now received several reinforcements, consisted of 62 horsemen and 102 foot soldiers, twenty of whom were armed with cross-bows, and only three carried muskets or rather matchlocks.—Robertson, H. of Amer. II. 295. He appears also to have had two small field-pieces.—E.

supplied with abundance of provisions and refreshments to restore them after the fatigues and privations they had suffered in the desert. Marching from thence by way of the mountain towards Caxamarca, Pizarro was met by an envoy from Atahualpa, bringing presents from that prince, among which were painted slippers and golden bracelets. This messenger informed the governor, that, when he appeared before Atahualpa, he must wear these slippers and bracelets, that the prince might know who he was [11]. Pizarro received this envoy with much kindness, and promised to do every thing that had been required on the part of Atahualpa; desiring the envoy to inform his sovereign that he might be assured of receiving no injury from him or the Spaniards, on condition that the Peruvians treated them with peace and friendship; as he had it in orders from the king his master, who had sent him to this country, to do no harm to any one without just cause.

On the departure of the Peruvian envoy, Pizarro continued his march with great precaution, being uncertain whither the Indians might not attack him during the passage of the mountains, in one part of which he had to pass through an almost inaccessible narrow defile, where a few resolute men might have destroyed his whole party. On his arrival at Caxamarca, he found another messenger from Atahualpa, who desired that he would not presume to take up his quarters in that place until he received permission for the purpose. Pizarro made no answer to this message, but immediately took up his quarters in a large court, on one side of which there was a house or palace of the Inca, and on the other side a temple of the sun, the whole being surrounded by a strong wall or rampart of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous situation, he sent captain Soto at the head of twenty horsemen to the camp of Atahualpa, which was at the distance of a league from Caxamarca, with orders to announce his arrival. On coming towards the presence of Atahualpa, Soto pushed his horse into a full career, making him prance and curvet to the great terror of
many

11 This envoy would assuredly bring some other message; and accordingly Robertson, II. 296, says that he offered an alliance, and a friendly reception at Caxamarca. Garcilasso gives a long and vague account of the object of this message, and enumerates many articles of provisions and curiosities, and some rich presents of gold and silver dishes and vases which were sent on this occasion by Atahualpa to Pizarro.—E.

many of the Peruvians, who ran away in a prodigious fright. Atahualpa was so much displeased at his subjects for their cowardice, that he ordered all who had run away from the horse to be immediately put to death.

After Soto had delivered his message, Atahualpa declined giving any direct answer, not choosing to address his discourse immediately to Soto: He spoke first to one of his attendant chiefs, who communicated what the king had said to the interpreter, after which the interpreter explained what had been said to Soto. While this circuitous conversation was going on, Ferdinand Pizarro arrived with some more horsemen, and addressed Atahualpa in the name of his brother, to the following effect. "That his brother the general had been sent to wait upon Atahualpa by his sovereign Don Carlos with an offer of friendship and alliance, and wished therefore to have an audience of his majesty, that he might communicate what had been given to him in charge by the king of Spain." To this Atahualpa replied, "That he accepted with pleasure the offer of friendship from the general, provided he would restore to his subjects all the gold and silver he had taken from them, and would immediately quit the country; and that on purpose to settle an amicable arrangement, he meant next day to visit the Spanish general in the palace of Caxamarca."

After visiting the Peruvian camp, which had the appearance of an immense city, from the prodigious multitude of tents and the vast numbers of men which it contained, Ferdinand Pizarro returned to his brother, to whom he gave a faithful account of every thing he had seen, and of the words of Atahualpa. The answer of that prince gave some considerable uneasiness to Pizarro, as having rather a menacing appearance, more especially considering that the army of the Peruvians outnumbered his own small force in the proportion of one or two hundred to one. Yet as the general and most of those who were with him were men of bold and determined resolution, they encouraged each other during the night to act like men of courage and honour, trusting to the assistance of God in the discharge of their duty. They passed the whole night under arms, keeping strict watch round their quarters, and in complete readiness for whatever might befal.

Early in the morning of the 16th November 1532, Pizarro drew up his small body of men in regular order. Dividing his cavalry into three bodies, under the command of his

three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, assisted by the Captains Soto and Benalcazar, he ordered to keep themselves concealed within their quarters till they should receive orders to attack. He remained himself at the head of the infantry, in another part of the inclosed court, having issued the strictest commands that no one should make the smallest motion without his orders, which were to be conveyed by the discharge of the artillery.

Atahualpa employed a great part of the day in arranging his troops in order of battle, pointing out to each of the commanders where and in what manner their divisions were to attack the Spaniards. He likewise sent a detachment of 5000 Peruvian warriors under one of his principal officers named Ruminagui, with orders to take possession of the defile by which the Spaniards had penetrated the mountain, and to kill every one of them who might endeavour to escape in that way [12]. Atahualpa having given all these orders, began his march and advanced so slowly that in four hours his army hardly proceeded a short league. He was carried in his litter in the usual state, on the shoulders of some of the principal lords of his court, having three hundred Indians marching before him in rich uniforms, who removed every stone or other substance which might obstruct the way, even carefully picking up the smallest straws. He was followed by a numerous train of curacas or caciques, and principal officers of his court, all carried in litters. The Peruvians held the Spaniards in small estimation, they were so few in number, and imagined they could easily make them all prisoners without presuming to make the smallest resistance. One of the caciques had sent to inform Atahualpa not to stand in any awe of the Spaniards, as they were not only few in number, but so effeminate and lazy that they were unable to march on foot without being tired by a very short distance, for which reason they travelled on the backs of *large sheep*, by which name they distinguished our horses.

In the order already described, Atahualpa entered with all his army and attendants into a large square or enclosure in front of the *tambos* or palace of Caxamarca; and seeing the Spaniards so few in number and all on foot, as the cavalry remained in concealment, he conceived that they would not certainly

12 Robertson, II. 299, suppresses all mention of any hostile intentions on the part of Atahualpa.—E.

certainly dare to stand before him or to resist his commands. Rising up therefore in his litter, he said to his attendants, "These people are all in our power, and will assuredly surrender." To which they all answered that this was certainly the case. At this time, the bishop Don Vincente Valverde advanced towards Atahualpa, holding a crucifix in one hand and his breviary in the other, and addressed him to the following effect.

"There is but one God in three persons who has created the heavens and the earth and all that are therein. He formed Adam the first man out of the dust of the earth, and afterwards made Eve his wife from a rib taken out of his side. All the generations of men are descended from these our first parents, by whose disobedience we have all become sinners, unworthy therefore of the grace and mercy of God, and beyond the hope of heaven, until Jesus Christ our Redeemer was born of the Virgin and suffered death to purchase for us life and immortality. After our Lord had suffered a shameful death upon the cross, he rose again in a glorious manner; and, having remained a short time on earth, he ascended into Heaven, leaving St Peter his vicar on earth, and after him his successors who dwell in Rome, and are named popes by the Christians. These holy successors of St Peter have divided all the countries of the world among the Christian kings and princes, giving in charge to each to subdue that portion which has been alotted to him. This country of Peru having fallen to the share of his imperial and royal majesty, the emperor Don Carlos king of Spain, that great monarch hath sent in his place the governor Don Francisco Pizarro, now present, to make known to you on the part of God and the king of Spain, all that I have now said. If you are disposed to believe all this, to receive baptism, and to obey the emperor, as is done by the greatest portion of the Christian world, that great prince will protect and defend you and your country in peace, causing justice to be administered to all. He will likewise confirm all your rights and liberties, as he is accustomed to do to all the kings and princes who have voluntarily submitted to his authority. But if you refuse this and choose to run the hazard of war, the governor will attack you with fire and sword, and is ready at this moment to do so with arms in his hand [13]."

When

13 Robertson, note cxxx, justly observes, that the extravagant and absurd discourse

When Atahualpa had listened to this discourse, very imperfectly rendered by an ignorant interpreter, he answered, "That the whole of this country had been conquered by his father and his ancestors, who had left it in rightful succession to his elder brother the inca Huascar. That he having been conquered and taken prisoner, Atahualpa held himself as legitimate sovereign, and could not conceive how St Peter could pretend to give it away to any one, without the knowledge and consent of him to whom it belonged. As for Jesus Christ, who he said had created heaven and earth and man and all other things, he knew nothing of all this; believing that the sun his father was the creator of all, whom he and his nation venerated as a god, worshipping likewise the earth as the mother of all things, and the *guacas* as subordinate divinities, and that Pachacama was the supreme ruler and creator of all things. As for what he had said of the king of Spain, he knew nothing at all about the matter, never having seen him." At the last, he asked the bishop where he had learnt all those things which he had been telling him. Valverde answered him that all these things were contained in the book which he held in his hand, which was the word of God. Atahualpa asked it from him, opened the book turning over its leaves, saying that it said nothing to him, and threw it on the ground. The bishop then turning to the Spaniards, called out, "To arms! to arms! Christians: The word of God is insulted."

Pizarro being of opinion that he would be easily destroyed if he waited for the attack of the Peruvians, immediately ordered his soldiers to advance to the charge, sending word to his brothers and the other officers who commanded the cavalry to execute the orders which they had already received. He likewise ordered the artillery and the crossbows to commence firing upon the Indians, on which the cavalry, as had been concerted, sallied forth and charged through among the Indians in three separate bodies; while he moved forwards at the head of the infantry, pushing directly for the litter in which Atahualpa was carried, the bearers of which they began to slay, while others pressed on to supply their places. As Pizarro was convinced that he and his people would be infallibly

discourse of Valverde, of which that given by Zarate in the text is an epitome, is merely a translation or paraphrase of a form, concerted in 1509 by a junto of Spanish lawyers and divines, for directing the office employed in the New World how to take possession of any new country.—E.

infallibly destroyed if the battle remained for any length of time undecided, the loss of one soldier being of infinitely worse consequence to him than the destruction of hundreds was to the enemy, and that he gained nothing by the death of thousands of the Peruvians, determined to make every effort to gain possession of Atahualpa, for which purpose he cut his way up to the litter in which he was carried; and seizing him by his long hair dragged him from his seat to the ground. In doing this, as several of his soldiers were making cuts with their swords against the golden litter, one of their swords glancing off wounded Pizarro in the hand. Paying no attention to this wound, he held fast his rich prize, in spite of the endeavours of multitudes of Indians to rescue their sovereign, who were all either killed or driven away, and at length secured Atahualpa as his prisoner.

When the Peruvians saw their sovereign in the hands of the Spaniards, and found themselves assailed in so many places at once by the enemy, especially by the horse, the fury of whose charge they were unable to resist, they threw down their arms and dispersed in every direction, endeavouring to preserve their lives by flight. A prodigious multitude of them being stopped by a corner of the great court or square, pressed with such violence against the wall that a part of it gave way, forming a large breach by which many of them escaped. The cavalry pursued the fugitives in every direction till night, when they returned to quarters [14].

When Ruminagui heard the noise of the artillery, and saw a centinel who had been placed on the top of a rock thrown down by a Spaniard, he concluded that the Spaniards had gained the victory; and was so much alarmed that he marched away with all his men to Quito, never stopping for any time till he got to that city, which is two hundred and fifty leagues from Caxamarca.

Atahualpa being thus made prisoner, and his whole army having taken to flight, the Spaniards went next morning to pillage his camp, where they found a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, excessively rich tents, stuffs, vestments,

14 In this engagement, or massacre rather, according to one Spanish writer 2000 Peruvians were slain, while another author swells the number to six or seven thousand, and a third says five thousand. Of the Spaniards not one was even hurt except the general Pizarro, who was wounded in the hand by one of his own soldiers.—Roberts. Hist. of America. II. 302. and note cxxxi.

ments, and many other articles of immense value. The gold plate alone which was carried along with the army for the use of Atahualpa exceeded the value of 60,000 pistoles [15]. Above 5000 women who were found in the camp of the enemy voluntarily surrendered themselves to the Spaniards.

The captive Atahualpa now made submissive application to Pizarro, earnestly intreating to be well used, and made offer for his ransom to deliver a quantity of gold that should fill a large chamber, besides so large a mass of silver that the Spaniards would be unable to carry the whole away. Pizarro was astonished at this magnificent offer, which he could hardly credit, yet promised the fallen monarch that he should be well used, and even engaged to restore his freedom if he made good his offer. Atahualpa was so much pleased with this promise, that he immediately sent numerous messengers through the whole empire, particularly to Cuzco, ordering all the gold and silver that could be procured to be brought to Caxamarca to pay his ransom. He had promised an immense quantity, as he had engaged to fill a long hall in the *tambos* or palace of Cazamarca as high as he could reach with his hand [16], for which purpose the height was marked by a coloured line drawn round the whole room. Although large quantities of gold and silver arrived every day after this agreement, the Spaniards could not be satisfied that the promise of Aathualpa would ever be fulfilled. They began even to murmur at the delay, alleging that the time which had been fixed by Atahualpa for the accomplishment of his promise was already past; and they alleged that he had fallen upon this scheme on purpose to gain time for the assemblage of a new army, with which to attack them at unawares. As Atahualpa had considerable sagacity, he soon noticed the discontent of the Spaniards,

15 Considerable even as this sum appears, it seems too small for the sovereign of so vast an empire which abounded so much in gold; yet we have no means of correcting the amount. Garcilasso however mentions one piece of gold plate found in the baths of Atahualpa after the battle worth 100,000 ducats; but his work is so strange a farrago of confusion and absurdity as to bear very little authority.—E.

16 The omission of the length and breadth of this room by Zarate, is supplied by Robertson, ii. 303, from the other original Spanish authors, who say the room was 22 feet long by 16 feet broad. The reach of Atahualpa could not be less than 7½ feet, 2640 cubic feet of gold, even heaped up of hollow vessels, must have produced a most astonishing value of that precious metal; but there are no data on which to calculate the numerical value of this imperial ransom, which the Spaniards certainly meant to accept, but would never have fulfilled the alternative.—E.

niards, and asked Pizarro the reason. On being informed, he made answer that they were in the wrong to complain of the delay, which was not such as to give any reasonable cause for suspicion. They ought to consider that Cuzco, from whence the far greater part of the gold had to be brought, was above 200 *large* leagues distant from Caxamarca by an extremely difficult road, by which all the gold had to be carried on the shoulders of the Peruvians, and that very little time had elapsed for the accomplishment of so laborious a work. Having thus endeavoured to explain the cause of delay in payment of the ransom, he requested that they would satisfy themselves on the subject by inspection that he was actually able to perform his engagement; after which they would not think much of its being delayed a month more or less. For this purpose, he proposed that he should depute two or three of the Spaniards, who might go to Cuzco, having orders from him to be shewn the royal treasures in that city, of which they would then be able to bring back certain information to satisfy the rest.

Opinions were much divided among the Spaniards, as to the adoption or rejection of this proposal. Several considered it is a most dangerous measure for any person to trust himself in the hand of the Peruvians, especially to so great a distance. Atahualpa considered this doubt of safety as very strange, especially as they had him in their hands as an hostage, together with his wives, children, and brothers. On this, Hernando de Soto and Pedro de Barco resolved to undertake the journey; and accordingly by the directions of Atahualpa, they set out in litters, each of which was carried on the shoulders of two men, with a number of other Peruvians accompanying them, to serve as reliefs when the others were tired. They were carried in this manner almost as fast as if they had rode post; as the litter carriers went along with great swiftness, frequently relieved by the others, of whom there were fifty or sixty in all.

Several days journey from Caxamarca, Soto and Barco met a party of the troops of Atahualpa, who were escorting the Inca Huascar as a prisoner. This unfortunate prince, on learning who they were, requested to have a conference with them, to which they consented, and in which he was distinctly informed of all the recent events. On being informed of the intentions of his imperial majesty Don Carlos, and of Pizarro, who commanded the Spaniards in his name, to

cause

cause impartial justice to be executed both to the Peruvians and Spaniards, he laid before them a distinct account of the injustice which he had suffered from his brother Atahualpa, who not only wished to deprive him of the kingdom, which belonged to him of right, as the eldest son of the late monarch Huana Capac, but now kept him a prisoner, with the design of putting him to death. He urged them to return to their general, and to lay his complaints before him, requesting that he, who now had both competitors in his power, and was consequently entire master of the country, would judge between them, and decree the possession of the empire to him who held the lawful right of succession. He farther promised, if Pizarro would do this, that he would not only fulfil all that Atahualpa had promised, which was to fill the apartment at Caxamarca to a certain height, but he would fill it with gold to the roof, which would be three times more than Atahualpa had promised. He assured them that he was better able to do all this, than was Atahualpa to perform what he had promised; because Atahuapa, to implement his engagement, would be under the necessity of stripping the temple of the Sun at Cuzco of all the plates of gold and silver with which it was lined; whereas he, Huascar, was in possession of all the treasures which belonged to his father Huana Capac, and the former Incas, by which he was able to perform what he had now offered, and a great deal more.

All that he alleged was certainly true, as Huascar was in possession of immense treasures, which he had hidden under ground in some secret place, unknown to all the world. On this occasion, he had employed many Indians to transport his wealth into the place of concealment, after which he had ordered them all to be put to death, that they might not inform any one of the place. After the Spaniards were entire masters of the country, they made every possible search after these treasures, and even continue their search to the present day, digging in every place where they suspect they may be concealed, but hitherto without being able to find them.

Soto and Barco told Huascar, that it was out of their power to turn back, being under the necessity of continuing the journey on which they had been sent by order of their general; but that on their return they would make a faithful report of all he had said. They accordingly went on their way towards Cuzco. But this meeting and conference occasioned the death of Huascar, and the loss to the Spaniards of the vast

vast treasure he had promised for his liberty and restoration. The captains who had the custody of Huascar made a report to Atahualpa of all that had passed in the interview between their prisoner and the Spanish messengers; and Atahualpa had sufficient sagacity to see, if these matters came to the knowledge of Pizarro, that he would feel inclined to take part with Huascar, especially in consideration of the prodigious quantity of gold which had been offered for his interference. He had remarked the extreme eagerness of the Spaniards for the possession of gold, and feared that they would deprive him of the kingdom, and give it his brother, and might put himself to death, as an unjust usurper of the clear rights of another. Being disposed, from these motives, to order his brother Huascar to be put to death, he was only restrained from doing this immediately by one circumstance. He had frequently heard from the Christians, that one of their principal laws, which was most religiously observed, was, that all who were guilty of murder were punished with death, whether the murder were committed by themselves personally, or by others at their instigation. He resolved, therefore, to sound Pizarro, and to discover his sentiments on this subject, which he did with wonderful artifice and dissimulation. One day he pretended to be overcome with extreme grief, weeping and sobbing, and refusing to eat or drink, or to speak with any one. When Pizarro inquired the cause of this distress, he allowed himself to be long intreated before he would give any reason of his sorrow. At length, as if overcome by solicitation, he said, "That he had just received intelligence that one of his officers had put his brother Huascar to death, by which news he was entirely overcome with grief, as he had always entertained the warmest and most respectful affection for him, not only as his eldest brother, but in a great measure as his father and sovereign. That although he had taken Huascar prisoner, he not only had no intention of using him ill in his person, but did not even mean to deprive him of the kingdom: his sole object being to oblige him to give up the possession of the kingdom of Quito, according to the last will of their father, Huana Capac; who had made a conquest of that country, which was beyond the boundary of the hereditary empire of the incas, and which consequently their father had an undoubted right to dispose of in his favour." Pizarro endeavoured to console the pretended affliction of Atahualpa, by assuring him, when peace and good order

were

were re-established in the empire, that he would make a strict inquiry into the circumstances of the death of Huascar, and would severely punish all who had participated in the crime.

When Atahualpa found that Pizarro took up this affair with so much coolness and moderation, he resolved to execute his design, and sent immediate orders to his officers who had the custody of Huascar to put him to death. So promptly were these orders obeyed, that it was difficult to ascertain in the sequel whether the excessive grief of Atahualpa was feigned, and whether it preceded or followed the death of his brother Huascar. Most of the soldiers blamed Soto and Barco for this unhappy event: not considering the necessity of every one to obey the orders of their superiors with exactness, according to their instructions, especially in time of war, without assuming the liberty of making any alteration or modification according to circumstances in their own opinion, unless they have express and formal discretionary power.

It was currently reported among the Peruvians, that when Huascar learnt he was to be put to death by order of his brother, he made the following observation: "I have been only a short while sovereign of this country, but my faithless brother, by whose orders I am to die, will not be longer a king than I have been." When the Peruvians soon afterwards saw Atahualpa put to death, conformable to this prediction, they believed Huascar to have been a true son of the sun. It is reported also, that Huascar should have said, when his father Huana Capac took his last leave of him, he foretold "That white men with long beards would soon come into Peru, and advised him to treat them as friends, as they would become masters of the kingdom." Huana Capac may have received some intimation of this future circumstance from the demons; and that the more readily, that Pizarro had been on the coast of Peru before his death, and had even begun to make some conquests.

While Pizarro continued to reside in Caxamarca, he sent out his brother Ferdinand with a party of cavalry to discover the country, who went as far as Pachacamac, about a hundred leagues from Caxamarca. In the district of Huamachucos, Ferdinand met with Illescas, one of the brothers of Atahualpa, who was escorting a prodigious quantity of gold to Caxamarca, part of the ransom of the captive inca, to the value of two or three millions at the least, without counting an immense

quantity

quantity of silver [17]. He continued his journey from Huamachucos to Pachacamac, not far to the south of where Lima now stands, through several difficult and dangerous passes; when he learnt that one of the generals of Atahualpa, named Cilicuchima was stationed with a large army at a place about forty leagues from thence. Ferdinand Pizarro sent a message to the Peruvian general to request that he would come to speak with him; and as Cilicuchima refused, Ferdinand took the resolution to wait upon him in person. This was considered by many as extremely rash and imprudent, to trust himself in the hands of a barbarous and powerful enemy. He was successful however in the attempt, as by various representations and promises, he prevailed on the Peruvian general to dismiss his army, and to go along with him to Caxamarca to wait upon his sovereign Atahualpa. To shorten their journey, they took a very difficult route through mountains covered with snow, where they were in danger of perishing with cold.

On arriving at Caxamarca, before entering into the presence of Atahualpa, Cilicuchima bared his feet and carried a present to his sovereign after the custom of the country, and said to him weeping, that if he had been along with him, the Spaniards should not have been allowed to make him a prisoner. Atahualpa answered, that his captivity was a punishment from the gods, whom he had not honoured and respected as he ought to have done; but that his defeat and capture were chiefly owing to the cowardice and flight of Ruminagui with his 5000 men, who ought to have succoured him when attacked by the Spaniards.

While Don Francisco Pizarro was in the province of Poecho between Tumbez and Payta, before he marched to Caxamarca, he received a letter without any signature, which it was afterwards learnt had been sent to him by the secretary of Don Diego de Almagro. He was informed by this letter, that Almagro had fitted out a large ship and several smaller vessels with a considerable number of soldiers, in which he proposed to sail beyond the country of which Pizarro had taken possession, and to reduce the best portion of Peru under his own authority, as beyond the government which had been granted to Pizarro by his majesty, which only

17 The sum in the text is quite vaguely expressed; perhaps pieces of eight reals, or dollars.—E.

only extended 200 leagues to the south of the equator [18]. The governor had never shewn his patents to any person [19]; yet it was curently reported that Almagro actually left Panama with the intention of carrying that design into execution; but on arriving at Puertoviejo, and learning the amazing successes of Pizarro, and the prodigious quantities of gold and silver he had already acquired, the half of which he considered as belonging to him, he changed his purpose, and marched with all his people to Caxamarca to join Pizarro. On his arrival there, the greater part of the ransom of Atahualpa was already brought, and Almagro and his followers were filled with astonishment and admiration at the sight of the prodigious masses of gold and silver which were there collected, more than they thought could have been in any part of the world.

When all this gold and silver was melted down, weighed and essayed, it was found to amount to the amazing sum of six hundred millions of *maravedies*, or more than 4,500,000 livres. It is true that the proof or essay of this gold was made hurriedly, and only by means of the touchstone, as they had no *aqua fortis* to conduct the process in a more exact manner. It afterwards appeared that this gold had been estimated two or three *carats* below its real value; so that the whole amount ought to have been reckoned at *seven* millions of maravedies, or 5,250,000 livres. The quantity of silver was so large, that the royal fifth amounted to 30,000 marks of fine silver, most of which was afterwards found to contain two or three carats of gold. The royal fifth of the gold amounted to 120 millions of maravedies, or 900,000 livres. Each horseman received for his share in gold, without counting the silver 240 marks or 12,000 pesos, equal to 80,000 francs. The shares of the horsemen were a quarter part larger than those of the foot soldiers. Yet all these sums did not amount to a fifth part of what Atahualpa had engaged to pay for his ransom. Those who had come along with Almagro, though considerable both from their rank and number,

18 At $17\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the degree, this government accorded to Pizarro, would have reached from about Tacames to the lat. of 11° 25′ S. whereas the kingdom of Peru extends to lat. 21° 35′ S. and its most valuable and richest provinces would have fallen to the share of Almagro.—E.

19 This expression is entirely vague, and does not even say which governor is meant. We shall see afterwards that this project of Almagro to appropriate the southern part of Peru took place at a subsequent period, and involved the recent conquest in long and destructive civil wars.—E.

ber, certainly had no just title to demand any share in the treasure which Atahualpa paid for his ransom, as they had no share in his capture; yet the general assigned each of them 20 marks, or 1000 pesos, as a donative to keep them in good humour.

Pizarro thought it now incumbent upon him to send intelligence to his majesty of the success of his enterprize, for which purpose he sent over his brother Ferdinand to Spain; and as when he departed, the precious metals had not been melted or proved, so that it was impossible to ascertain what was the exact share belonging to the king, two thousand marks of gold and twenty thousand marks of silver, were set apart for this purpose[20]. In making the selection of articles to be sent to Spain, the largest and finest pieces were chosen, that they might have a grander appearance: Among these were several large vessels of various kinds and for different uses, together with figures of men and women and various animals. When Atahualpa learnt that Ferdinand Pizarro was to embark for Spain he was much afflicted, having a great affection for that gentleman, in whom he reposed implicit confidence; and when Ferdinand came to take leave, he said to him, "I am sore afflicted at your departure, for I am much afraid the big-belly and the blinkard will put me to death in your absence." By the former he meant Requelme the treasurer, who was very fat, and by the latter Almagro, who had lost an eye, whom he had observed frequently to mutter against him, for certain reasons, which will appear in the sequel.

As Atahualpa suspected, Ferdinand Pizarro had not been long gone, when the death of the unfortunate prince began to be talked of among the Spaniards. This was brought about by the suggestions of an Indian named Philippillo, who had accompanied the general into Spain, and now served him as an interpreter with the Peruvians. He pretended that Atahualpa had secretly laid a plan for destroying all the Spaniards; for which purpose he had a great number of armed men concealed in various places, meaning to employ them when a favourable

20 Reckoning the mark at *eight* ounces, the gold at L.4, and the silver at 5s. 6d. per oz. this royal fifth would come to L.108,000, and the whole treasure to five times that sum, or L.540,000. But as the precious metals were then worth at least *six* times as much as now, or would purchase *six* times the amount of labour or necessaries, this first fruit of the conquest of Peru exceeded the value of three millions sterling.—E.

favourable opportunity occurred. The proofs and examination of facts and circumstances respecting this alleged plot, had all to come through Pillippillo, as the only one who knew both languages; and he gave such a turn to every thing as best suited his own views and purposes. Accordingly the Spaniards were never able perfectly to discover the truth, or to penetrate entirely into his motives for this procedure. It has been alleged by some persons, that Philippillo had become amorous of one of the wives of Atahualpa, with whom he even had a criminal intercourse, and expected to secure the quiet possession of his mistress by the death of that unfortunate prince. It was even reported that Atahualpa had come to the knowledge of that amour, and had complained to Pizarro of the criminal and even treasonable conduct of the paramours; which, by the laws of Peru, could only be expiated by burning the guilty persons, putting to death all their near relations, destroying all their cattle and substance, laying waste the place of their birth, and sowing salt on the place, so as to render the memory of the crime infamous for ever.

It has been alleged by others that the death of Atahualpa was occasioned by the solicitations and intrigues of those newly arrived Spaniards who accompanied Almagro, who considered his continuing to live as prejudicial to their interests. The soldiers of Pizarro who were with him when Atahualpa was taken prisoner, insisted that those who came with Almagro had no right to participate in any part of the treasure given or to be given on account of his ransom, and could not justly pretend to any share of what might be collected until all that Atahualpa had promised was entirely paid up. The soldiers of Almagro, on the other hand, believed it to be for their interest that Atahualpa should be removed out of the way; since as long as he might live, the soldiers of Pizarro would always pretend that all the treasure which might be procured formed part of his ransom, so that they would never come in for any share. However this might be, the death of that unfortunate prince was resolved on, and even this determination was communicated to him. Astonished at this fatal intelligence, of which he had never entertained the slightest suspicion, Atahualpa urged his merciless conquerors to confine him rather in a stricter captivity, or even to put him on board their ships. "I know not," said he, "how you can possibly suppose me so stupid as to think of any treachery

 against

against you in my present situation. How can you believe those troops which you say are assembled, have been called together by my orders or by my consent? Am I not a prisoner, in chains, and in your hands? And is it not easy for you to put me to death whenever these pretended troops make their appearance? If you believe that my subjects will undertake any thing against you without my consent, you are ill informed of the absolute authority I possess over all my subjects, and the perfect obedience which it is their glory to render me on all occasions. So to speak, the birds do not dare to fly, nor the leaves to move upon the trees without my orders; and how then shall my subjects presume to go to war against you without my consent."

All that he could urge was of no avail, as his death was absolutely resolved upon, although he offered to place hostages of the highest consideration in the hands of the Spaniards, whose lives should be answerable for any of the Christians who might be slain or ill treated by his subjects. Besides the suspicions already mentioned, which were alleged against Atahualpa, it is said that he was accused of the death of his brother Huascar. He was condemned to die, and his sentence was executed without delay. In his distress, he was continually repeating the name of Ferdinand Pizarro; saying, if he had been present, he would not have allowed him to be thus unjustly put to death. Shortly before his death, he was persuaded by Pizarro and Valverde to submit to the ceremony of baptism [21].

"While Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of Atahualpa, and Philippillo laboured to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to hasten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were persons of birth and education superior to the rough adventurers with whom they served, were accustomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this respect from persons of such high rank, he delighted in their society. But in the presence of the governor he was always uneasy and overawed. This dread soon came to be mingled

21 Of this tragical event, the illustrious Historian of America, gives a somewhat different account, II. 310, from Herrera and Garcilasso de la Vega; which, as much too long for a note, is subjoined in the text to the narrative of Zarate, and distinguished by inverted commas.—E.

mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, that which he most admired, was reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself, whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he shewed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and, to his amazement, they all, without hesitation, gave the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment, Atahualpa considered him as a mean person, less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of scorn to a barbarian, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death.

"But in order to give some colour of justice to this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the Inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himself and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this strange tribunal, a charge was exhibited still more amazing. It consisted of various articles: That Atahualpa, though a bastard, had dispossessed the rightful owner of the throne, and usurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human sacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that since his imprisonment he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. On these heads of accusation, some of which are so ludicrous, and others so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the subject of a serious procedure, is not less surprizing than his injustice, did this strange court go on to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no jurisdiction. With respect to each of the articles, witnesses were examined;

ed; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philippillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn best suited his malevolent intentions. To judges predetermined in their opinion, this evidence appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm this sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just. Astonished at his fate, Atahualpa endeavoured to avert it by tears, by promises, and by entreaties that he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and, what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console, and attempted to convert him. The most powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Christian faith, was a promise of mitigation in his punishment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burnt alive, was strangled at the stake."

Ruminagui, one of the captains under Atahualpa, who had fled with five thousand men from Caxamarca, as already related, having arrived in the kingdom of Quito, seized the children of Atahualpa, and made himself master of that country as if he had been the lawful sovereign. A short time before his death, Atahualpa had sent his brother Illescas into the kingdom of Quito, with orders to bring his children from thence; but Ruminagui not only refused to deliver them up, but even put them all to death. After the death of Atahualpa, some of his principal officers, according to his dying commands, carried his body to Quito that it might be interred beside the remains of his father Huana capac. Ruminagui received them in the most honourable manner, with every outward mark of affection and respect, and caused the body of Atahualpa to be buried with much pomp and solemnity, according to the custom of the country. After the ceremony, he gave a grand entertainment to the officers of the late unfortunate monarch, at which, when they were intoxicated, he caused them all to be put to death, together with Illescas the brother of Atahualpa. He caused this person to be flead alive, and had a drum covered with his skin, inclosing his head in the inside of the drum.

After the governor Pizarro had made a repartition of all the gold and silver which was found in Caxamarca, he learned that one of the officers of Atahualpa, named Quizquiz, had assembled some troops in the province of *Xauxa* [22], and endeavoured to excite an insurrection in the country. Pizarro therefore marched against him, but Quizquiz durst not wait for him in Xauxa, and retreated to a greater distance. Pizarro pursued, causing Hernando de Soto to lead the van with a party of horse, while he led the rear or main body himself. While advancing in this order into the province of *Vilcacinga* [23], Soto was unexpectedly attacked by a vast body of Peruvians, and in great danger of being totally defeated, five or six of his men being slain; but on the approach of night, the Peruvians retreated to a mountain, and the governor sent on Almagro with a reinforcement of cavalry to Soto. Early next morning the fight was resumed, and the Spaniards endeavoured to draw the Peruvians into the plain, by pretending to retreat, that they might not be exposed to the prodigious quantity of stones which the Indians hurled down upon them from the mountain. The Peruvians seemed aware of this stratagem, as they continued to defend their position on the mountain; though they were not apprized of the reinforcement which Soto had received, as the morning was thick and misty. Being unable to induce their enemies to descend from their advantageous situation, the Spaniards assailed the Peruvians with so much resolution, that they drove them from their position with considerable slaughter, and forced them to take to flight.

At this place, a brother of the late Incas, Huascar and Atahualpa, named *Paul* Inca [24], came to Pizarro under pretence of entering into terms of peace and submission. After the death of his brothers, this prince had been recognised as king of Peru, and had been invested with the fringed fillet, which answered among the Peruvians as the crown or emblem of supreme rule. The Inca told the governor that he had a very considerable force of warriors in Cuzco, all of whom only waited

22 Probably the district now called Jauja: as the x and j have nearly the same sound in Spanish with the aspirated Greek ξ.—E.

23 Apparently Guancavelica, in which is the town of Vilca-bamba.—E.

24 This name of *Paul* could hardly be Peruvian. Manco Capac, a full brother of Huascar, had been recognized as Inca at Cuzco; perhaps the person named Paul by Zarate, is the same prince who is called Paullu by Garcilasso, and may have received that name in baptism at an after period —E.

waited his arrival to submit to his orders. Pizarro accordingly marched towards that city, and arrived within sight of it after several days march. So thick a smoke was seen to arise from the city, that Pizarro suspected the Peruvians had set it on fire, and immediately sent on a detachment of cavalry to endeavour if possible to prevent the destruction of the city. On their arrival near Cuzco, a vast body of Peruvians issued from the city and attacked them with great violence, with stones, darts, and other arms; insomuch that the Spaniards were forced to retreat above a league to rejoin the main body of the army which was commanded by Pizarro in person. He immediately detached the greater part of his cavalry under the command of his brothers Juan and Gonzalo, who attacked the enemy with so much courage and impetuosity, that they were soon defeated and many Peruvians were slain in the pursuit. On the approach of night, Pizarro reassembled all his army, which he ordered to lie on their arms; and marched next morning with every precaution to Cuzco, which he entered without opposition.

After remaining twenty days in Cuzco, Pizarro was informed that the Peruvian General Quizquiz had drawn together a considerable body of warriors, with whom he pillaged and raised contributions in a province named *Condefugo* [25]. The governor detached Hernando Soto with fifty horsemen against Quizquiz, who did not think proper to await his arrival; but he took the resolution of marching to Xauxa or Jauja, on purpose to attack the baggage and royal treasure belonging to the Spaniards, which had been left there with a guard, under the care of Requelme the treasurer. Although the Spanish troops in Xauxa were few in number, they posted themselves in a strong position, waiting the attack of Quizquiz, and defended themselves so courageously that he was unable to make any impression upon them, and accordingly drew off his troops, taking the road to Quito. The governor sent Soto after him with his detachment of cavalry, and soon afterwards sent off his two brothers, Juan and Gonzalo, to reinforce Soto. These three Spanish captains pursued

25 This is probably an error of the press for *Condesugo*. To the south of Cusco, and in the plain of Peru, there are two contiguous districts named the Condesuyos of Arequipa and Cusco, which are probably the province alluded to in the text. The term seems Spanish; but it is not unusual with Zarate to substitute posterior names to those of the period concerning which he writes.—E.

pursued Quizquiz above a hundred leagues, but were unable to come up with him, and returned therefore to Cuzco.

In that ancient capital of the Peruvian empire, Pizarro and the Spaniards found a prodigious booty in gold and silver, not less in value than all they had collected at Caxamarca for the ransom of Atahualpa. He made a division of this among his soldiers, and settled a colony in Cuzco, which had long been the capital of the Peruvian empire, and continued to be so for a considerable time under the Spaniards. He likewise made a repartition of Indians among such Spaniards as chose to settle in the place as colonists: Only a few, however, chose to avail themselves of their advantage; as a considerable proportion of the Spaniards were better pleased to return into Spain, that they might enjoy in repose the treasure which they had acquired at Caxamarca and Cuzco, than to remain in Peru.

"The riches displayed by the early conquerors of Peru on their return among their astonished countrymen, had so great an effect to induce others to try their fortunes in that golden region, that the governors of Guatimala, Panama, and Nicaragua could hardly restrain the people under their jurisdiction from abandoning their possessions, and crowding to that inexhaustible source of wealth which seemed to be opened in Peru. In spite of every check or regulation, such numbers resorted to the standard of Pizarro, that he was soon enabled to take the field at the head of five hundred men, besides leaving sufficient garrisons in San Miguel and other places necessary for the defence of his conquests [26]".

It has been already said that Pizarro, soon after his arrival in Peru, established a settlement at the town of San Miguel in the province of Tangarara, not far from the harbour of Tumbez [27], as a secure place of disembarkation for those who came to join him from Spain. While he still remained at Caxamarca after the death of Atahualpa, on recollection that he had left a weak garrison in San Miguel, the governor thought proper to send a reinforcement of ten horsemen to that place under the command of Benalcazar. Soon after his arrival, a considerable number of Spanish soldiers came there

26 This paragraph is added from the history of America, II. 313, to the text of Zarate, as necessary to account for the subsequent operations of Pizarro, after the secession of a considerable part of his original followers.—E.

27 Tumbez seems here substituted by mistake for Payta. San Miguel is not less than 130 miles from Tumbez, and only about 30 from Payta—E

there from Panama and Nicaragua, and as the Cagnares made loud complaints to him that they were oppressed by Ruminagui and the Peruvians of Quito, Benalcazar chose two hundred of the new recruits, eighty of whom were cavalry, with whom he marched for Quito, because he was informed that Atahualpa had left a large quantity of gold in that city, and that he might likewise protect the Cagnares, who had declared themselves the friends of the Spaniards. Ruminagui advanced with an army of more than twelve thousand Peruvians to defend the defiles of the mountains leading towards the kingdom of Quito, which he endeavoured to do with considerable judgment, taking advantage of the nature of the ground, and fighting only in places of difficult approach. Benalcazar, on his side likewise, joined stratagem and military conduct to courage and prudence; for, while he occupied the attention of the enemy by frequent skirmishes, and demonstrations of attacking them in front, he detached one of his officers with fifty or sixty horsemen, who gained possession of a commanding post during the night on the rear of the Peruvians, so that he was able next morning to render himself easily master of the pass they had endeavoured to defend. In this way, Benalcazar gradually drove the enemy from their strong ground into the plain of Quito, where they were unable to withstand the charge of the cavalry and suffered considerably. Ruminagui still endeavoured to make head in several different posts, which he carefully forfeited with concealed pit-falls, digging for this purpose broad and deep ditches, in the bottom of which a number of pointed stakes were set up, the whole covered over with green turf held up by slender twigs, somewhat like those described by Cæsar as contrived by the inhabitants of Alesia. But all the contrivances of the Peruvians for surprizing Benalcazar, or for drawing him into their snares were quite unavailing. He avoided them all, and never attacked on the side they expected; often making a circuit of several leagues so as to attack them unexpectedly on the flank and rear, and always carefully avoiding every piece of ground that had not a natural appearance. The Peruvians tried another stratagem, on seeing the former miscarry: They dug a great number of small pits close to each other, about the size of a horses foot, in every place around their camp where they thought the cavalry might come to attack them. But all their arts and labour were useless, as Benalcazar was never

off

off his guard, and was not to be deceived by any of their contrivances, so that they were at last driven all the way to the city of Quito. It is reported of Ruminagui, that one day after his arrival in Quito, where he had a great number of wives, that he told them they might soon expect to have the pleasure of seeing the Christians, with whom they would have the opportunity of diverting themselves; and that, believing him in jest, they laughed heartily at the news, on which he caused most of them to be put to death. After this cruel deed, he set fire to a large apartment filled with rich dresses and valuable moveables belonging to the late Inca Huana Capac, and retired from Quito, having first made another unsuccessful attempt to surprise the Spaniards by a night attack, after which Benalcazar made himself master of Quito with very little opposition.

While these things were going on in the kingdom of Quito, the governor Pizarro received information that Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was governor of Guatimala, had embarked with a considerable force for Peru, on which account he deemed it proper to detach some troops under Almagro to San Miguel, to inquire into the truth of that report and to prevent the invasion of his government. As Almagro on his arrival at San Miguel could get no distinct accounts of the motions of Alvarado, and was informed of the resistance made to Benalcazar in the kingdom of Quito by Ruminagui, he accordingly marched there with his troops and formed a junction with Benalcazar, assuming the command of the combined forces, after which he reduced several districts and fortified stations of the natives. But, as he did not find any gold in that country, which was by no means so rich as he thought he had reason to expect from report, he soon afterwards returned towards Cuzco, leaving the command in Quito to Benalcazar.

After the conquest of New Spain by the Marquis del Valle, he detached one of his captains named Don Pedro de Alvarado to a neighbouring country called Guatimala; which that officer accordingly reduced to subjection after much trouble and many dangers, and, as a reward of his services, was appointed to the government of that province by the king of Spain. On receiving intelligence of the riches of the newly discovered empire of Peru, Alvarado solicited permission from the emperor Don Carlos to be permitted to undertake the conquest of some part of that country, beyond the bounds that had been granted to Pizarro, and received a patent to that effect.

Having

Having received authority for this purpose, while he was making preparations for the expedition, he sent one of his officers, named Garcias Holguin, with two ships to examine the coast of Peru, and to gain some precise intelligence respecting its actual state From the report of Holguin respecting the immense quantities of gold which the governor Don Francisco Pizarro had found in that country, Alvarado was encouraged to proceed in his enterprize; flattering himself, that while Pizarro and his troops were occupied at Caxamarca, he might be able to acquire possession of Cuzco[28], which he considered as beyond the two hundred and fifty leagues which had been assigned as the extent of the government conferred upon Pizarro. For the better execution of his design, and lest reinforcements might be sent from Nicaragua to Pizarro, he came by sea to that place one night, where he made himself master of two large ships which had been fitted out there expressly for the purpose of carrying a large reinforcement of men and horses to Peru. In these two ships, and in those which he brought with him from Guatimala, Alvarado set sail with five hundred men, cavalry and infantry, and landed on the coast of South America at the harbour of Puerto Viejo.

From Puerto Viejo, Alvarado marched almost due east with his army, crossing those mountains which separate the plain country of Guayaquil from the table land of Quito, which the Spaniards call the *Arcabucos*, being thickly covered with brushwood, but over which the road is tolerably easy and only moderately steep, being almost under the equator. In this march his men suffered extremely from hunger and thirst, as the country through which they went was very barren, and had neither springs nor rivulets. The only relief they could procure was from certain large canes as thick as a mans leg, in each of the joints of which they usually found rather more than a quart of excellent water. They were so much distressed by famine on this march as to be under the necessity of eating several of their horses, the flesh of which sold so high that a dead horse brought more money on this occasion than he had cost when living. Besides thirst and famine, they were very much distressed during a considerable part of the way by quantities of hot ashes falling upon them, which

28 From the subsequent operations of Alvarado, this seems an error of the press for Quito.—E.

which they afterwards learnt were thrown up by a volcano in the neighbourhood of Quito, which burns with such violence that its ashes are often carried by the wind to the distance of eighty leagues, and its noise like prodigious thunder is sometimes heard at a hundred leagues from Quito. In the whole march, which was nearly under the equinoctial line, the troops of Alvarado found everywhere abundance of emeralds. After a long and difficult march through these *arcabucos*, where they were for the most part obliged to cut their way through the thick brushwood by means of axes and their swords, they came at length to a high chain of mountains covered with snow, over which it was necessary to pass. In this difficult and dangerous passage by an extremely narrow road, it snowed almost continually, and the cold was so extremely severe, that although every one put on all the clothes they had along with them, more than sixty men perished from the extreme severity of the weather. One of the soldiers happened to be accompanied by his wife and two young children, and seeing them entirely worn out with fatigue, while he was unable to assist them, he preferred to remain with them and perish, although he might have saved himself. At length, after infinite toil and danger, they found that they had reached the top of the mountain, and began joyfully to descend into the lower grounds of the kingdom of Quito. It is true that in this country they found other high mountains covered likewise with snow, as the province is entirely surrounded and interspersed with mountains; but then there are many temperate vallies among these mountains, which are well peopled and cultivated. About this time, so great a quantity of snow melted suddenly on one of these mountains, producing such prodigious torrents of water, that the valley and village of *Contiega* were entirely overwhelmed and inundated. These torrents bring down immense quantities of stones, and even vast fragments of rock, with as much ease as if they were only pieces of cork.

It has been already said that Almagro had left Benalcazar in the government of Quito, meaning to return to Cuzco, because no intelligence had reached him of the motions of Alvarado; and mention has been made of his having reduced certain rocks and fortresses into which the Indians of Quito had retired to defend themselves. This had occupied him so long, that Alvarado had penetrated into the province of Quito before Almagro had returned into the south of Peru, being still em-

ployed in reducing the southern districts of Quito. He received the first intelligence of the arrival of Alvarado while reducing the province of *Liribamba*[29], for which purpose he had to pass a considerable river with much difficulty and danger, as the Indians had destroyed the bridges, and waited on the other side of the river to attack him while passing. He defeated them, though with much difficulty, as the Indians were very numerous, and their wives fought as bravely as the men, being very expert in slinging stones. In this engagement the head cacique of the Indians was made prisoner, and from him Almagro got the first intelligence of the arrival of Alvarado, who was then only at the distance of about sixty miles, employed in reducing an Indian fortress into which one of the captains of the Indians had retired, whose name was Zopazopaqui. On receiving this news, Almagro sent seven horsemen to inquire into its truth, and to bring him exact information of the strength and intentions of Alvarado. These were all made prisoners by the troops of Alvarado, who liberated them some time afterwards. Alvarado advanced with his troops within less than twenty miles of the camp of Almagro, who, considering the great superiority in number possessed by Alvarado, formed the resolution of returning to Cuzco with an escort of twenty-five horse, and to leave the remainder of his troops under Benalcazar for the defence of the country.

At this time, Philipillo, the Indian interpreter who has been already mentioned as the cause of the death of Atahualpa, fearing to incur the punishment of his treachery, fled from the camp of Almagro to that of Alvarado, taking along with him a principal Peruvian cacique. These men had concerted with most of the Peruvian *curacas* or chiefs who accompanied Almagro, to hold themselves and their people in readiness to abandon him and to join Alvarado at the earliest notice sent them for that purpose. Immediately on his arriving in the presence of Alvarado, Philipillo offered to make him master of the whole country, informing him at the same time of the design of Almagro to retire to Cuzco, and that if he chose to attack him without delay he might easily make him prisoner, as he had only about eighty horsemen and a hundred and fifty infantry. On this advice, Alvarado marched immediately

29 Probably that now called Riobamba by the Spaniards, about 100 miles south from Quito.—E.

ly to attack Almagro, whom he found at Liribamba, resolved to defend himself bravely, and to die fighting rather than fly. Almagro had thrown up intrenchments for his defence, having divided his small party into two bands, one of which he commanded in person, and placed the other under the command of Benalcazar. Alvarado marched up with his troops in order of battle; but when just on the point of commencing the attack, certain propositions of peace were made, and a truce was agreed upon for the rest of the day and the following night, on purpose to agree upon conditions [30]. In a conferrence for this purpose, an agreement was entered into, which was greatly forwarded by a licentiate named Caldera. It was agreed that Almagro should pay to Alvarado 100,000 pesos, or 2000 marks of gold [31], as an equivalent for the expences he had incurred in fitting out his expedition, and that the two commanders should go together to Pizarro, for the purpose of procuring the necessary funds for payment of this agreement. The conditions were kept secret, lest the companions of Alvarado might prevent their execution, as their interest had been entirely overlooked in this agreement. It was therefore given out that Alvarado was to embark with his people to make farther discovery of the country, leaving that part which was already occupied and conquered by the Spaniards, and permission was given to all who thought proper that they might remain at Quito with Benalcazar. A considerable number of the followers of Alvarado availed themselves of this permission, and others accompanied him and Almagro to Pachacamac, where they were informed Pizarro had gone from Xauxa expressly to receive them. Before leaving the province of Quito, Almagro ordered the *curaca* who deserted from him along with Philipillo to be burnt alive, and would have treated the interpreter in the same manner, but Alvarado interceded for him, and obtained his pardon.

While Almagro and Alvarado were on their march from the province of Quito for Pachacamac, the *curaca* or chief of

30 Garcilasso says that the soldiers of both armies, being mostly natives of Estremedura, mixed together without permission of their officers, and made propositions of peace and amity, by which the generals were in a great measure forced to an agreement.

31 Two thousand marks of gold of eight ounces each, and the ounce at four pound Sterling are worth L. 64,000, perhaps equivalent to near L. 400,000 of modern money.—E.

of the Cagnares, informed them that the Peruvian general Quizquiz had assembled an army of above 12,000 men, with which he had collected all the people and cattle of the country between and Xauxa, and intended attacking them on their march. This chief added, that if they would delay their march for some time, he would contrive a plan for delivering Quizquiz into their hands. Almagro was not disposed to put too much confidence in this proposal, and continued his journey. On arriving in the province of *Chaparra*[32], they unexpectedly fell in with above two thousand Peruvian warriors commanded by a curaca named Sotaurco. This was the advanced guard of Quizquiz, whose main body was two or three days march in the rear. Quizquiz had a similar detachment at a considerable distance on his left flank, on purpose to raise contributions of provisions from the inhabitants of the country for the subsistence of his army; and had besides a rear guard of three or four thousand warriors, two days march behind. The main body under his own immediate command escorted all the cattle which had been collected on the march, and great numbers of prisoners, so that his whole army occupied a space of above sixty miles of country.

Sotaurco, the commander of the Peruvian vanguard, endeavoured to gain possession of a defile or pass in the mountains, by which he supposed the Spaniards intended to march; but Almagro not only prevented the execution of that project by seizing the pass, but even made Sotaurco prisoner. From him Almagro was informed of the order of march observed by Quizquiz, and determined to make a forced march with all his cavalry to attack him. In this march, at a steep stoney pass near a river which it was necessary to pass, most of the horses lost their shoes; and as it was in the night, the Spaniards had to replace them as well as they could by the light of fires and candles. Being afraid lest Quizquiz might be informed of their approach by some of the natives of the country, Almagro continued his march with all possible expedition, and towards the evening of the second day of his march he came in sight of the Peruvian camp.

Immediately on seeing the Spaniards, Quizquiz withdrew to some distance with all the women and people who were unfit for battle, and placed his troops in a post of very difficult

32 Perhaps that now called Xibarros, in the south of the kingdom of Quito.—E.

cult access under the command of *Huaypalca*, a brother of the late inca Atahualpa. Almagro advanced without hesitation to attack them, although the horses were so weary that they were hardly able to move though led mostly by the soldiers; besides which the Peruvians rolled down upon them from the mountain great quantities of large stones and fragments of rock. In spite of every obstacle, the Spaniards made their way to the post occupied by Huaypalca, which they attacked both in front and flank, and forced him to retire among the steep rocks, where he defended himself till night, and then drew off under cover of the darkness to rejoin Quizquiz. Sometime afterwards, it was learnt that the detached party of Peruvians which marched on the left of Quizquiz, had made prisoners of fourteen Spaniards, all of whom they put to death. Almagro, in continuing his march, was opposed by the Peruvian rear-guard at the passage of a river, so that he was unable to get over for a whole day. Besides occupying the opposite bank of the river, the Peruvians had taken possession of a very high mountain immediately above the place occupied by the Spaniards, so that they were unable to attack the enemy without exposing themselves to great danger; and indeed a good many of the Spaniards were wounded, among whom Alfonso de Alvarado was pierced quite through the thigh by a javelin, and another officer of rank was severely wounded. The Peruvians kept firm all night, but in the morning they abandoned their post on the banks of the river, leaving the passage free for the Spaniards. The Indians had burnt all the baggage which they could not not carry off, but above 15,000 Peruvian sheep were found in their camp, and more than four thousand Indian men and women, of those whom Quizquiz had made prisoners, who now voluntarily surrendered themselves to the Spaniards. The Peruvian warriors had retired to a strong post on the top of a mountain, where Almagro did not think fit to attack them, as he was desirous to continue his march to the south.

On their arrival at San Miguel, Almagro sent the Captain Diego de Mora to Puerto Viejo, to take the charge of the vessels belonging to Alvarado, who likewise sent Garcias de Holguin on his part, that this measure might be executed amicably according to agreement. After giving all the necessary orders at San Miguel, and having provided his own men and those of Alvarado with arms, money, and clothes, he and Alvarado continued their journey towards Pachacamac.

camac. In the course of this march, he left Captain Martin Astete to build and settle a town now called Truxillo, in a convenient situation on the coast, in pursuance of orders to that effect from the governor Don Francisco Pizarro.

About this time Quizquiz, having continued his march towards Quito, had his advanced guard attacked and defeated by one of the officers belonging to Benalcazar. Quizquiz was much afflicted by this loss, and knew not well what to do or how to conduct himself. The curacas or native chiefs in his army advised him to make his peace with Benalcazar; but he would not listen to this proposal, even threatening to put them to death if they ever mentioned such a thing again, and ordered them to prepare for returning into Peru. But, as they were in want of provisions, and had no hopes of procuring any in the retreat which Quizquiz meditated, several of the *curacas*, at the head of whom was Huaypalca, remonstrated with him that it was better to die like brave men in battle against the Spaniards, than to retreat as he desired and to die of famine in a desert country. As Quizquiz gave a very unsatisfactory answer to this remonstrance, Huaypalca gave him a thrust in the breast with his lance, and all the other curacas fell upon him with their clubs and axes, cutting him to pieces. After this they dismissed the troops, allowing every one to go where he pleased.

On the arrival of Almagro and Alvarado at Pachacamac, they were joyfully received by the governor, who had come there from Xauxa to meet them. Pizarro honourably fulfilled the entire agreement which Almagro had made with Alvarado, by the payment of the stipulated sum of 100,000 gold pesos; though several persons remonstrated against paying so large a sum, and alleged that Almagro had been constrained to enter into the agreement by necessity, and that Alvarado, instead of receiving so much money, deserved to be sent prisoner into Spain for having invaded the government belonging to another person. After receiving the money, Alvarado returned quietly to his government of Guatimala [33].

After the departure of Alvarado, the governor Pizarro began the establishment of a colony or settlement in the district of Pachacamac, which he named *Ciudad de los Reyes*, or the City

33 According to Garcilasso, Pizarro made an additional free gift to Alvarado of 20,000 gold pesos to defray the expence of his voyage back to his government, with emeralds and turquoises to a considerable value, and several articles of gold plate for the use of his table.—E.

City of the Kings, otherwise called Lima, to which place he removed the colonists whom he had formerly established at Xauxa or Jauja; as the situation of Lima appeared to him exceedingly well calculated for trade, being near the sea [34]. From that place, Almagro went with a considerable force to Cuzco, and Pizarro visited Truxillo on purpose to place that colony on a proper footing, by making an equitable repartition of the lands and Indians among the colonists.

While at Truxillo, Pizarro received information that Almagro was inclined to take possession of the city of Cuzco, having been apprized by Ferdinand Pizarro, who was sent to Spain, that his majesty had appointed him a separate government extending a hundred leagues beyond the boundaries which had been assigned to Pizarro, and which Almagro alleged were considerably to the north of Cuzco. Juan and Gonzalo Pizarro, brothers of the governor, who were then in Cuzco, and several other persons of consideration, vigorously opposed Almagro and Hernando Soto, who took the part of Almagro, and a civil war seemed on the point of breaking out: But Almagro was unable to succeed in his design, as the great majority of the senators or members of the Cabildo took the part of the governor and his brothers. Immediately on receiving intelligence of these disputes, Pizarro posted with all expedition to Cuzco, where he soon re-established tranquillity by his presence. He pardoned Almagro, who was much ashamed of having occasioned so much confusion by attempting a matter of such high importance on such slight grounds as a mere hearsay or report. The ancient friendship and association between Pizarro and Almagro was renewed, and it was agreed that Almagro should go with a military force on discovery to the south, and if he found any country worth taking possession of, that the associates were to use their joint interest at the court of Spain to procure the government of it for him; but, if no good country were to be found, the government of Peru was then to be divided between Pizarro and Almagro. This agreement was solemnly ratified by oath upon the consecrated host, pledging themselves

34 Lima or Los Reyes is built on the banks of a river named Rimac or Limac by the Peruvians, whence its ordinary name of Lima. It is about ten miles from the sea, having a port named Callao at the mouth of the river. This city got the name of *the City of the Kings*; either from its foundation being laid on the 18th of January 1535, on the festival of the *three kings*; or in honour of Juana and Carlos, joint sovereigns of Castile.—E.

themselves never to attempt in future to do any thing contrary to the interests of each other. Some have said that Almagro, on this occasion, swore that he would never make any future attempt upon Cuzco, or any part of the country to the distance of a hundred and thirty leagues to the south of that city, even in the event of being named by the king to to its government; and they add, that in addressing himself on this occasion to the holy body of Christ, he used these words, "If I should violate the oath which I now make, I pray, O Lord! that thou mayest punish and confound me in body and soul."

After this solemn agreement, Almagro prepared every thing for his departure, and accordingly set out with above five hundred men, as shall be related in the next section. Pizarro returned to Lima, whence he sent Alfonso de Alvarado to conquer the country of the Chachapoyas, which is in the mountainous region of Peru about sixty leagues from Truxillo. This officer and his followers encountered much difficulty and labour in this enterprize, in which they at length succeeded, by forming establishments and reducing the inhabitants to submission; after which, the government of the province was conferred upon Alvarado, by whom the conquest had been effected.

SECTION III.

Occurrences from the departure of Almagro for Chili, to his capture by Pizarro, being the first part of the civil wars in Peru.

IN consequence of the agreement between Pizarro and Almagro, which was ratified on the 12th of June 1535, Almagro soon afterwards set out upon the proposed discovery and conquest at the head of five hundred and seventy men, partly cavalry and part infantry; for so great were the hopes of acquiring riches in this expedition, that several who had already acquired establishments in Peru, abandoned their houses, lands, and Indians, to follow the fortunes of Almagro [1]. Juan de

1 Though not mentioned directly in the text, it appears that Almagro knew of and intended to conquer the country of Chili, and that he chose to march

de Saavedra was sent on before the main body of the army with a detachment of a hundred men; and, in the course of his march through that province which has since been called *Los Charcas*, he met with some Indians on their road from Chili to Peru, who were going to pay their homage to the Inca. Almagro having along with him a body of two hundred men, both horse and foot, made a march of two hundred and fifty leagues, reducing the whole country in his way, till he arrived in the district of the *Chichas*, where he learnt that he was followed by a body of fifty Spaniards commanded by Niguerol de Ulloa. Almagro commanded that party to join him, and continued his march towards Chili, which is 350 leagues beyond the province of Chichas, reducing all the tribes on his route to submission. Almagro halted at this place with half his troops, and sent on the rest under Gomez de Alvarado, who proceeded sixty leagues farther; but was forced to return to Almagro, in consequence of the severity of the weather.

After the departure of Almagro from Cuzco, the Inca Manco Capac and his brother Villaoma entered into a plot for massacring all the Spaniards in Peru on a certain day. Manco Capac had engaged execute to that part of the conspiracy which had for its object the destruction of Almagro and his troops, but which he was unable to accomplish. What was done by his brother will be related afterwards. Philipillo, the Peruvian interpreter who has been formerly mentioned, was acquainted with this conspiracy, on which account he made his escape from Almagro, and being pursued and taken was condemned to be quartered. Before his execution, he confessed that he had unjustly procured the death of Atahualpa, that he might thereby secure to himself one of the wives of that unhappy prince, of whom he was enamoured.

About two months after the arrival of Almagro in Chili, one of his captains named Ruy Dias came to him with a reinforcement of a hundred men, and informed him that all the natives of Peru had revolted and had massacred most of the Spaniards in that country. Almagro was much grieved at

march by the high country of Peru, through the great elevated valley of the lake Titicaca, probably the highest inhabited land of South America. His object was in all probability to avoid the extensive desert of Atacama, which divides the plain of Peru from Chili.—E.

at this intelligence, and resolved immediately to return, that he might chastise the revolters and restore the country to obedience; meaning afterwards to send one of his captains with a sufficient force to reduce Chili. He accordingly set out on his return, and was met on his way by Rodrigo Orgognez, who brought him a reinforcement of twenty-five men, and was soon afterwards joined by Juan de Herrada with a farther reinforcement of a hundred. Herrada brought him likewise the letters patent of the king, by which he was appointed governor of two hundred leagues of country beyond the boundaries assigned to Pizarro. This new government which was granted to Almagro was directed to be named the New Kingdom of Toledo, and that of Pizarro, the New Kingdom of Castille. Having said at the commencement of this section, that Almagro carried with him from Cuzco on this expedition a force of 570 Spanish troops; it must be remarked that such was his intention, but that in reality he had only 200 men along with him, after which his army was made up nearly to the intended number by the different reinforcements of which we have made mention.

In the march of Almagro into Chili, his army suffered excessive hardships from hunger and thirst. Besides their other fatigues, they had often to encounter Indians of great stature, clothed in the skins of sea-wolves and seals, who used the bow and arrow with great strength and address. But the most severe circumstance during this march was the intense cold which they encountered in passing over some mountains covered with snow. In particular, several of the soldiers belonging to Ruy Dias and a good many horses were frozen to death; and so excessive was the cold, that when Almagro returned towards Cuzco five months afterwards, several of the bodies of those who had been frozen to death were found upright and leaning against the rocks, still holding the bridles of their horses, which were likewise frozen, and their flesh still remained as sweet and uncorrupted as if they had only just expired, insomuch that the troops used the flesh of these horses as food on their return to Peru. In some parts of these deserts where there was no snow, the Spaniards were reduced to great straits from want of water; on which account they had to make bags or leather bottles of the skins of sheep, in which to carry water for their supply.

It is proper to remark, that the Peruvian sheep are much larger animals than those of Europe, and are used as beasts

of burden. They resemble in some measure the camel in their shape, except that they have no hunches on their backs, and are able to carry a load of a hundred pounds or more, with which they are able to travel four or five leagues a-day. The Spaniards even sometimes rode on their backs. When fatigued, they immediately lie down, and it is impossible to make them rise again by any means whatever, neither blows nor kindness are of any avail, and it becomes necessary to unload them. When a person rides on one of these animals, and endeavours to urge it on when weary, it turns round its head towards the man, blowing upon him a most offensive breath mixed with a kind of stinking dew, which seems to proceed from the contents of its stomach. This is a most useful and profitable animal, as besides serving as a beast of burden, its wool is excellent and very fine; more especially that species which is called *pacos*, which has very long wool. These animals are supported at very little expence while on a journey, requiring only a very small allowance of maize, and they can subsist four or five days without drinking. Their flesh is well tasted and wholesome, and equal to the best fat mutton of Spain; and it is accordingly sold in all the butcher-markets of Peru. At the first settlement of the Spaniards in this country, before the establishment of regular markets, when any person killed one of these sheep, his neighbours used to participate, and they in their turns killed others, and divided them among the neighbours.

In some of the level plains of Peru there is a species of ostrich, which is taken in the following manner. Several horsemen place themselves in ambush, while others likewise on horseback pursue the ostriches and endeavour to drive them towards their companions who are concealed. These birds, although they are unable to rise in flight into the air, go with astonishing swiftness, partly by running, and partly by means of short flights close to the ground, insomuch that a man on horseback is altogether unable to get up with them, so that it requires stratagem to kill or take them alive.

In Chili there are some rivers which have water only during the day, and are entirely dry during the night. This is owing to the heat of the sun melting the snow on the mountains by day, by which temporary rivers, or torrents rather, are formed by day, which cease again at night when the cold puts a stop to the melting of the snow. When we have got about 500 leagues along the coast from Peru towards the south,

south, or in the lat. of about 30° S. rain is often met with, and the winds are no longer so regular as nearer the line, but blow sometimes one way and sometimes another, as in Spain and other countries of Europe. Chili is a tolerably well peopled country, and resembles Peru in being divisible into two districts, the plain and the mountain, and its coast is considerably more indented by gulfs and bays than that of Peru [2]. It enjoys the vicissitudes of summer and winter nearly as in Spain, but at opposite times of the year, the winter of Chili being at the same time with the Spanish summer, and vice versa. The pole seen from that country, which is directly opposite our *Arctic* or north pole, is only marked by a kind of small white cloud or nebula, which is seen after sunset in that direction in which astronomers have placed the antartic or south pole. There is likewise seen a constellation of seven stars, four of them being in form of a cross, followed by three others, resembling the lesser bear of the astronomers which turns round the north polar star. These seven stars near the south pole are situated somewhat like those of the *ursa minor*, except that the four which form the cross are nearer each other than those of the north pole which are seen in our hemisphere. Our north pole is lost sight of somewhat less than 200 leagues to the south of Panama, under the equator; from whence, or a little beyond, on either side of the line, these two constellations may be seen when they rise a little above the poles of the horizon. On the south side of the equinoctial line, navigators are only able to see the four stars near the antarctic pole which form the cross, until they reach the *thirtieth* degree of south latitude, after which they get sight of the other three stars which form this constellation.

The change in the length of the days and nights in Chili is nearly the same as in Spain, only the longest day in Chili is at that time of the year when Spain has the day shortest. In Peru and Tierra firma, and generally in all places near the equinoctial line, the days and nights are always equal or nearly so during the whole year. Even at Lima and other places the difference is so small as hardly to be noticed. The natives of

2 From the desert of Atacama in lat 25° S. to the island of Chiloe in about lat. 42° S. Chili Proper, between the Pacific ocean and the western ridge of the Andes, stretches about 1100 English miles nearly north and south by an average breadth of about 140 mlies.—E.

of Chili are clothed nearly in the same manner with the Peruvians, and use the same kind of food. The inhabitants, both men and women, are tolerably well looked. They are governed by great lords, who make war against each other, and some of whom are able to bring 200,000 men into the field. One of these lords at this time was named *Leuchengorma*, who possessed an island about two leagues from the coast which was consecrated to his idols, in which was a temple ministered to by two thousand priests. The subjects of Leuchengorma informed the Spaniards, that there was a great province about fifty leagues farther on, situated between two rivers, which was entirely inhabited by women, who did not admit any men among them but at certain times, for the purpose of having children, and who sent all their sons to their fathers, reserving their daughters only to be brought up among themselves. They said farther, that these women were subjects of Leuchengorma, and were ruled over by a queen named *Guaboymilla*, which signifies *golden heaven* in their language, and so named because her country produces a great quantity of gold. These women manufactured rich stuffs, in which, and in the gold produced in their country, they paid tribute to Leuchengorma. Although these things have often been spoken of, their truth has not as yet been ascertained by the discovery of the country, Almagro having made no establishment there. Of late, indeed, Pedro de Valdivia has been sent thither to establish some colonies, but he has never yet had a sufficient force for making discoveries, or for colonization, and has settled one colony only, which is placed about thirty-three degrees to the south of the equator [3].

The whole coast of Chili is well peopled, as far as to the latitude of 40° south and still farther; which is known by one of the ships belonging to the fleet sent out by Don Gabriel de Carvajal bishop of Placentia, which passed through the straits of Magellan, and sailed along the whole western coast of South America from south to north, and at length reached the port belonging to Lima. This ship brought over the first rats ever seen in Peru, which have so multiplied since that there are plenty in every town of the whole country. These

3 Valparayso stands nearly in the latitude indicated by the text. Valdivia, taking its name from that commander, is in lat. 30° 40' S.—E.

These animals are named *ococha* by the Peruvians, which word signifies having come from the sea.

Soon after the departure of Almagro from Cuzco on his expedition to Chili, Ferdinand Pizarro returned from Spain, where his majesty made him a knight of the order of St Jago, with other advantages [4]. He had likewise obtained an enlargement of the government of his brother to a certain extent, and brought out with him a commission for Almagro to a new government.

At this time Manco Capac, whom Pizarro had permitted to assume the nominal title of Inca of Peru, was detained a prisoner in the citadel of Cuzco, in consequence of the discovery of a conspiracy he had entered into with his brothers Paul and Villaoma to exterminate the Spaniards. Manco Capac wrote to Juan Pizarro, intreating to be set at liberty before the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro at Cuzco; and Juan, who was then in the *Collao* endeavouring to reduce certain Indians who had retired into a strong place among rocks, sent orders to liberate the Inca. On the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro at Cuzco, he treated Manco Capac with much respect, yet kept a constant guard over him, and it is believed that Ferdinand shewed great friendship for the Inca, in the hope of procuring gold from him, to send to the king of Spain or for his own use. Two months after the return of Ferdinand to Cuzco, Manco Capac solicited permission from Ferdinand to go into the district of *Jucaya* [5] on purpose to celebrate a solemn festival, promising on his return to present him with a statue of the late Huana Capac of solid gold as large as life. Ferdinand allowed him to attend this festival, which turned out merely the unravelment of the plot which had been formed at the time when Almagro began his march for Chili. Manco Capac gave immediate orders to put to death some Spaniards who superintended the working of the mines, and others who were travelling through the country on various affairs. He sent likewise one of his captains with a considerable body of troops against Cuzco, who by a sudden and

4 Zarate is extremely remiss in regard to dates, and not a little confused in the arrangement of his narrative. We learn from Robertson, II. 325, that Ferdinand Pizarro returned to Peru in 1536.—E.

5 According to Robertson, II. 326, the place where the festival was to be celebrated was only at a few leagues distance from Cuzco. Garcilasso says that it was a garden belonging to the Incas only a league from the city.—E.

and unexpected attack got possession of the castle of that city. The Spaniards indeed retook it after six or seven days, yet not without hard fighting, in which they lost Juan Pizarro; who was killed by a stone which struck him on the head, at a time when he was unable to wear his helmet in consequence of a former wound. His death was much regretted by the Spaniards, being a brave man and much experienced in the manner of carrying on war with the Indians, and besides because his manners had made him beloved by every one.

Nothwithstanding the recapture of the castle of Cuzco by the Spaniards, the Inca brought a large army against the city, which he besieged for more than eight months, making frequent assaults on various parts of the works, chiefly during moon-light nights when the moon was full. Ferdinand Pizarro and his brothers, assisted by Gabriel de Roias, Hernand Ponce de Leon, Don Alfonso Enriquez, the treasurer Requelme, and other brave officers, made a resolute defence, and were almost perpetually under arms day and night, as the number of the garrison was exceedingly inadequate to the extent of the place and the multitude of assailants. As the Spaniards in Cuzco were aware that the insurrection was general over all Peru, they hardly doubted but the governor and all their other countrymen were cut off, so that they defended themselves as men who had no earthly hope of succour, depending only on the mercy of God and their own courage. Their small number was daily diminished, as hardly a day passed in which the Indians did not kill or wound some of their people. One time during the siege, Gonzalo Pizarro made a sally with twenty horsemen, and proceeded to the lake or marsh of Chinchero which is five leagues from Cuzco, where he was surrounded by so vast a force of Indians that he must inevitably have been made prisoner, had not Ferdinand Pizarro and Alfonso de Toro come up to his rescue with a body of horse. Gonzalo was much blamed on this occasion for having advanced so far among the enemy with so few men.

We have already mentioned that Almagro had resolved to return into Peru and to make himself master of Cuzco, from the time that Juan de Herrada had brought him the commission by which he was appointed to a government beyond that assigned to Don Francisco Pizarro. The principal officers who were along with him, strongly urged him to this measure, particularly Gomez Alvarado and Diego Alvarado, brother and

and uncle of Don Pedro Alvarado the governor of Guatimala, and Rodrigo Orgognez; some of whom were eager to procure settlements in Peru, and others were desirous of gaining establishments in Chili. To succeed in their design, as reports of the insurrection in Peru had reached Chili, they instructed some Indian interpreters to inform Almagro that the governor Francisco Pizarro and most of the Spaniards in Peru had been slain by the Peruvians. Urged by all these considerations, Almagro marched back into Peru, and even arrived within six leagues of Cuzco without giving notice to Ferdinand Pizarro of his motions or intentions [6]. Almagro made overtures to the Inca Manco Capac for an accommodation, offering to forgive him all the injury he had already done to the Spaniards, in consideration of joining his party and assisting him to become master of Cuzco, of which he pretended that he had been appointed governor by the king of Spain. The Inca proposed an interview between them under pretence of settling the terms of an agreement, to which Almagro consented without suspecting any treachery, and went accordingly with a part only of his troops to the place appointed for the conference, leaving the rest of his force under the command of Juan de Saavedra. Taking advantage of this confidence, the Inca attacked Almagro by surprize with extreme fury, and even killed and wounded several of his men.

In the mean time, Ferdinand Pizarro received notice of the arrival of Almagro, and that Juan de Saavedra was left at the village of Hurcos in command of the troops in the absence of Almagro. He went therefore from Cuzco at the head of an hundred and seventy of his best troops, in hope of being able to prevail on Saavedra and the rest to abandon the party of Almagro, or to fall upon them by surprize and make them prisoners. But Saavedra got timely notice of his approach, and drew up his forces, amounting to three hundred Spaniards, in an advantageous situation for his reception. When the two parties were just about to engage, Ferdinand Pizarro sent a message to Saavedra proposing a private interview, that they might endeavour to agree upon an accommodation, to which the other consented. As this conference was entirely between themselves, it is difficult to know with any certainty what passed; but it was reported that Ferdinand

6 The return of Almagro to Cuzco was in the year 1537.--E.

nand endeavoured to persuade Saavedra to join him with the troops under his command, for which he offered a large recompense in gold; but that Saavedra, like a man of honour, peremptorily refused to betray his general.

On the return of Almagro from his affair with the Inca, he rejoined the troops under Saavedra, and marched for Cuzco with his whole force. While on the march, he made prisoners of four horsemen who had been sent out by Ferdinand Pizarro to reconnoitre, from whom he learnt all the particulars of the insurrection of the Peruvians, who had killed more than six hundred Spaniards, and had burnt down a great part of the city of Cuzco, on which news Almagro was very sensibly afflicted. He sent however, his patents as governor to the senators of the royal council or Cabildo of Cuzco, whom he urged to receive him as their governor; since, as he insisted, the bounds of the government assigned to Francisco Pizarro certainly did not include their city, and even fell considerably short of it to the north. In answer to this demand, the council made answer, that whenever the extent of the government belonging to Pizarro was accurately measured and determined, they would be ready to accede to his desires, provided their city was found to be beyond his limits. This subject was endeavoured to be settled at that time, and has been since tried to be ascertained by several experienced persons; but the manner in which this affair ought to be regulated has never been agreed upon between the two interested parties. The adherents of Almagro have always insisted, that the extent assigned by his majesty as the government of Pizarro, ought to be measured either along the sea coast or by the grand road of the Incas, taking into the account all the turnings and windings in either of these routes; by which means, in either of these ways not only the city of Cuzco, but even Lima according to the opinions of several persons, would be left out of the province of Pizarro. He on the other hand, insisted that the extent of country granted to him, ought to be measured in a straight line directly from north to south, without any angles or turnings, or by means of settling the degrees of latitude at the two extremities, allowing so many leagues to each degree.

Ferdinand Pizarro offered to admit Almagro and his troops into Cuzco, and to assign them a particular quarter of the city for their residence, if he would agree to defer the dispute about the boundaries, till intelligence were sent to the gover-

nor Don Francisco Pizarro, then at Lima, that he might have it in his power to endeavour to fall upon some means of settling the difference between them in an amicable manner. It has been said by some, that a truce was agreed upon between them on these principles; and that on the faith of this truce, Ferdinand Pizarro allowed all the soldiers and inhabitants to retire to their quarters for rest and refreshment, after their long fatigues, having spent several days and nights continually under arms, without time to sleep or even to take proper food. It is farther said, that Almagro, being informed of this circumstance, made a night attack on Cuzco, in which he was aided by a thick mist, so that he got possession of the defences without being observed. Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, awakened by the noise, flew to arms and defended their house, which was the first attacked, with the assistance of their servants; but as the enemy set it on fire in several places, they were forced to surrender. Next day, Almagro obliged the Cabildo to receive him as governor, and committed Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro to prison. Several of his confidents even urged him to secure his conquest by putting the Pizarros to death; but he was chiefly dissuaded from this by the influence of Diego de Alvarado, who became responsible for them.

It has been said that Almagro violated the truce which he had agreed to with Ferdinand Pizarro, in consequence of the false representations of several Indians and Spaniards, who told him that Ferdinand had ordered all the bridges to be broken down, and was employed in fortifying Cuzco against him. In proof of this, it is alleged that when Almagro was advancing to attack the city, and saw the bridges remained uninjured, he said aloud that he had been imposed on. The governor Don Francisco Pizarro did not receive any account of these events at Cuzco for a good many days afterwards. As the Inca Manco Capac had fled with a large body of Peruvian warriors to the high mountains of the Andes, Almagro invested his brother the *Inca Paul* [7] with the royal fringed fillet, appointing him nominal king of Peru.

Among those things which Don Francisco Pizarro had solicited from his majesty in reward for his services in the discovery and conquest of Peru, he particularly requested the grant in perpetuity to him and his descendants of twenty thousand

7 Garcilasso names this prince Paullu Inca.—E.

thousand Indians in a province named *Atabillos* [8], with all the revenues, imposts, rights, and jurisdictions appertaining to them, together with the title of Marquis of that province. The king gave him the title of Marquis according to his desire; but in regard to the grant of Indians which he solicited, answered, that he must in the first place be better informed of the nature and circumstances of the country and its native institutions, before he could determine on that measure, but that Pizarro might rest assured of having every reasonable concession in his favour.

On receiving information of the insurrection of the Peruvians around Cuzco under Manco Capac, Francisco Pizarro, now Marquis, sent several detachments of troops to the assistance of his brother Ferdinand at Cuzco, sometimes ten or fifteen only together, according as circumstances or convenience occurred, not believing the state of affairs to be so hazardous as it was in reality [9]. The Peruvians having accurate information of the march of these detachments, occupied the difficult passes of the mountains with parties of warriors, and succeeded on several occasions to defeat these small bodies, most of whom were slain. One considerable reinforcement of seventy horsemen, was sent by the Marquis from Truxillo and San Miguel under the command of Diego Pizarro, who was waylaid by the Peruvians at a difficult pass called the mountain of Parios, about fifty leagues from Cuzco, where he and his men were all slain. One Gonzalo de Tapia, who was brother-in-law to the Marquis, who went with a body of eighty horsemen, was likewise defeated and slain; and two other captains, named Morgoveio and Gaete, while endeavouring to pass the mountains to the relief of Cuzco, were treated in the same manner. Of all these different detachments, scarcely one man escaped, so that those who followed knew nothing of what happened to those who went before them. The enemy always attacked the Spaniards while engaged in marching through some deep and narrow valley among the mountains, occupying both ends of the valley by strong bodies of warriors, and rolling down great stones and masses of rock from the steep and high mountains on both

sides

8 Named *Atavillos* by Garcilasso de la Vega.—E.

9 The arrangement of Zarate is extremely faulty and confused, as he here recounts circumstances which preceeded the return of Almagro to Cuzco. We are here giving a translation of a original document; not endeavouring to write a history of the Conquest of Peru, and have not therefore authority to alter the arrangement of our author.—E.

sides of the valley, destroyed our men and horses in a miserable manner, often without fighting. In this way they at different times destroyed more than three hundred soldiers, and made themselves masters of their arms, besides acquiring considerable and valuable plunder in gold and jewels and silk dresses. Not knowing the fate of the former detachments, Francisco de Godoy was sent with a reinforcement of eighty men; but falling in with two of those who had belonged to the detachment under Gaete, who had escaped, he learnt from them what had happened, on which he immediately endeavoured to retreat from the mountain passes, in which he had considerable difficulty, as the Indians had already occupied the defiles in his rear. He made good his retreat however, followed and harassed by the Indians for more than twenty leagues, sometimes attacking him in the rear and at other times in the van, and at length got safe to Lima with much difficulty. About the same time the captain Diego de Aguero arrived at that place with some other Spaniards, who had saved themselves from the Indians, who had endeavoured to massacre them at their country residences.

The marquis sent Pedro de Lerma at the head of eighty cavalry to drive away a numerous army of Peruvian warriors who had invaded the lower country in pursuit of Aguero. Lerma fought against these troops of the Inca a whole day, and at last forced them to take refuge in a strong place among steep rocks, where the Spaniards surrounded them. In this battle, Lerma lost several of his teeth, and several of his men were wounded, but none killed. The Indians were so exceedingly crowded together among the rocks to which they had retired, that they were unable to use their arms, insomuch that the Spaniards might probably have put an end to the war on this occasion, if the marquis had not sent them an order to retire. On seeing the retreat of their enemies, the Indians returned thanks to their gods for their escape from so great danger, and took post on a high mountain near the city of Lima on the other side of the river, whence they harassed the Spaniards by frequent skirmishes and attacks. The commander of these Indians was named Tyzogopangui, who had along with him one of the brothers of the Inca, whom the marquis had sent along with Gaete [10].

While

10 Garcilasso names the Peruvian general Titu Yupanqui. The remainder of the sentence, repecting the brother of the Inca and Gaete, is quite unintelligible.

While the Peruvians remained in the neighbourhood of Lima, skirmishing every day with the Spaniards, it often happened that the natives who were in the service of the Spaniards, who were called *Yanacones*, went during the day to their friends in the mountains, who gave them provisions, and returned at night to their masters.

As he was in a manner besieged by so large a force of the enemy in Lima, the marquis concluded that his brothers and all the other Spaniards in Cuzco had certainly been slain, and that the insurrection was so general that the inhabitants of Chili had likewise destroyed Almagro and his army. In this emergency, both that his Spaniards might not expect to save themselves by sea, and to convince the Peruvians that he had no intention to leave the country, he sent off all his ships to Panama. At the same time he sent notice to the Viceroy of New Spain and all the other governors in America and the West Indies of the perilous state of affairs in Peru, intreating them to send him assistance. In these letters, he is said not to have shewn his usual firmness, and it is reported that this was occasioned by the earnest solicitations of many of those around him. He sent orders at the same time to the commandant of Truxillo to abandon that place, and to come to his assistance with all the armed men and horses he could collect, sending off the women and children and all their valuable effects to the province of Tierra firma. But before the execution of these orders, the captain Alfonso de Alvarado arrived at Truxillo with the troops he had taken along with him for the conquest of the province of the Chachapoyas, whence he had been recalled by orders from the marquis. Leaving a part of his troops for the defence of Truxillo, Alvarado marched with the rest to Lima, where the marquis appointed him lieutenant-general of his army, in place of Don Pedro de Lerma, who had hitherto enjoyed that office. This gave great offence to Lerma, and was the occasion of his revolt, as shall be mentioned in the sequel.

As the marquis was now reinforced by a considerable number of troops, he thought himself in condition to send assistance to those parts which were in greatest danger, and detached therefore Alfonso Alvarado with three hundred horse and

unintelligible. I suspect it has been misunderstood by the French translator and ought to stand thus: "The commander of these Peruvians was Titu Yupanqui, a brother of the Inca, and the same person who had driven Gaete and others to take refuge in Lima."—E.

and foot, who pillaged several districts with very little resistance from the Indians. But about four leagues from the city of Pachacamac, he was violently attacked by the Indians, whom he defeated with considerable slaughter; after which he continued his march towards Cuzco. On this march the army of Alvarado suffered great hardships in passing across a large extent of desert country, five hundred Indians who attended as servants perishing of thirst; and it is said that all the Spanish infantry must have died of thirst and fatigue, if they had not been relieved by the activity of the cavalry in bringing them water from a distance. After reaching the province of Jauja, Alvarado was joined by Gomez de Tordoya with two hundred horse and foot, who had been sent after him. His force being augmented to five hundred men by this reinforcement, Alvarado proceeded to the bridge of *Lumichaca*, where he was surrounded by a numerous army of hostile Indians. Having defeated these in battle, he continued his march to the bridge of Abancay [11], continually harassed by the Indians. At that place he learned that Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro had been imprisoned by Almagro, who had taken possession of Cuzco; on which he resolved to halt where he then was till he might receive precise orders from the marquis for his farther proceedings.

When Almagro was informed of the arrival of Alfonso Alvarado at Abancay, he sent Diego Alvarado to wait upon him, attended by seven or eight horsemen, with orders to notify his commission as governor in these parts. Alfonso, after examining the commission, declared that he did not consider himself competent to decide upon an affair of such high importance, and that the documents ought to be communicated to the marquis. Almagro had come part of the way from Cuzco towards the camp of Alvarado, where he waited the return of his messenger; and not seeing him at the time he expected, he became afraid that Alvarado had detained him and might advance to Cuzco by another road. He returned therefore to Cuzco in all haste to provide for his defence. Learning the discontent of Lerma, on account of having been superseded in the command of the army by the marquis, and that he was disposed to come over to his side with eighty men, Almagro marched out from Cuzco with his troops

11 Abancay is a town on one of the branches of the Apurimac about 60 miles west from Cuzco.—E.

troops a fortnight afterwards, and advanced towards the army of Alfonso Alvarado. While on the march, the advanced guard belonging to Almagro, by means of an ambush, made Pedro Alvarez Holguin prisoner, who had been sent out on discovery by Alvarado. On learning this circumstance, Alvarado meant to have arrested Pedro de Lerma, as he entertained suspicions that he was in correspondence with Almagro; but Lerma had previously escaped to the enemy, carrying along with him the signatures of all those who had joined him in the plot for deserting to Almagro.

After the junction of Lerma, Almagro approached during the night to the bridge of Abancay with one part of his army, where he knew that Gomez de Tordoya and a son of Colonel Vilalva waited for him; and he detached at the same time a large body of his troops to a ford of the river, where those who had conspired in his favour along with Lerma had the guard. By these men the troops of Almagro were received as friends, so that they passed the river without opposition. Some of these conspirators contrived during the night to throw above fifty lances belonging to the cavalry of Alvarado into the river. Owing to all these circumstances, when Alvarado proposed next morning to have attacked the enemy, he found himself abandoned by the conspirators; and a considerable number of his own troops, not being able to find their arms, did not come up in time for the attack. By these means Almagro got an easy and bloodless victory, not a single Spaniard being killed on either side, Rodrigo Orgognez only losing several of his teeth by a stone thrown from a sling[12]. After the capture of Alfonso Alvarado, the Almagrians pillaged his camp, and carried all the adherents of Pizarro as prisoners to Cuzco, where they were harshly treated. In consequence of this victory the partizans of Almagro were so much elated, that they used to say the Pizarros might now retire from Peru to govern the Mangroves under the equator.

In consequence of the victories which Alvarado had gained over the Indians at Pachacamac and Lumichaca, as already mentioned, the Inca and Titu Yupanqui were obliged to retire from before Lima, which they had in a manner blockaded. By this circumstance the marquis found himself at liberty

12 We learn from the History of America, II. 331, that this bloodless victory over Alvarado took place on the 12th July 1537. Garcilasso calls it the battle of the river Amancay, and names Alvarado Alonso.—E.

ty to act in support of his interest at Cuzco; and having received considerable reinforcements from various parts, he began his march for Cuzco at the head of more than seven hundred men, horse and foot. In this expedition, his only purpose was to succour his brothers against the Peruvians, as he had not hitherto received information of the return of Almagro from Chili, or any of those other events which had taken place, as before related. Most of the troops by which the marquis was lately joined, were sent by Don Alonso de Fuenmayor, archbishop and president of Hispaniola, under the command of his brother Don Diego de Fuenmayor. Besides these, Gaspar de Espinosa had brought some troops from Panama, and Diego de Ayala had brought others from Nicaragua. With this army the marquis set out from Lima for Cuzco, taking the way of the plain, and arrived in the province of Nasca, about twenty-five leagues from Lima [13]. At this place he received intelligence of the return of Almagro, the death of one of his brothers and imprisonment of the other two, the defection of Lerma, and the capture of Alvarado. He was sensibly affected by this afflicting news; and considering that his troops were only prepared for contending against Indians, he thought proper to return immediately to Lima to take proper measures under the present emergency of his affairs.

Soon after his return to Lima, the marquis sent the licentiate Espinosa to endeavour to bring about an accommodation with Almagro. Espinosa was directed to represent to Almagro, that if his majesty were informed of the disputes between them, and the evil consequences of these upon the condition of the colony, he would assuredly recal both, and send some other person to assume the government of Peru, who would reap the rich fruit of their joint labours. If Almagro refused to listen to these remonstrances, and to enter into a friendly accommodation, Espinosa was instructed to request that he would set the brothers of Pizarro at liberty, and would remain at Cuzco without attempting any farther hostilities, untill they had laid a statement of their differences before his majesty, and had received his final orders respecting the boundaries between their governments. Espinosa was unable to persuade Almagro to agree to any accommodation, and soon afterwards died. Leaving Gabriel de Roias as his lieutenant in

13 Nasca is about 240 miles S. S. E. from Lima, or about sixty Spanish leagues.—E.

in Cuzco, with the charge of Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonso de Alvarado, Almagro descended into the plain with a considerable force, carrying Ferdinand Pizarro along with him. He penetrated into the province of Chancay, which is only twenty leagues from Lima, where he even established a colony or garrison, in a place which was without any manner of doubt within the province of the marquis.

On the return of the marquis to Lima, he made additional levies of troops, giving out openly that he was reduced to take up arms against Almagro, who had invaded his government. In a few days he assembled an army of seven hundred men, among whom was a considerable body of musqueteers, which had been brought from Flanders with the necessary arms and ammunition by Pedro de Vergera, along with the troops of Diego de Fuenmayor. Hitherto there had not been a sufficient number of musquets in Peru to form entire companies of that species of troops; but on the present occasion the marquis was enabled to arm two companies with that powerful weapon, one of which was commanded by the before named Pedro de Vergera, who had been formerly sent to discover the province of Bracamoras. Nugno de Castro was appointed captain of the other company of musqueteers. Diego de Urbina, nephew of the maestre de campo Juan de Urbina, was made captain of the pikemen. Diego de Roias, Peranzures, and Alfonso de Mercadillo, were appointed captains of horse: Pedro de Valdivia maestre de campo, and Antonio de Vilalva sergeant-major, who was son of Colonel Vilalva.

About this time, Alonso de Alvarado and Gonzalo Pizarro, who remained prisoners in Cuzco [14], made their escape from prison, and joined the marquis with above seventy men whom they had persuaded to accompany them, bringing likewise along with them as a prisoner Gabriel de Roias the lieutenant of Almagro. The arrival of these officers gave much satisfaction to the marquis, both on account of their escape from danger, and because the reinforcement they brought along with them gave great encouragement to his troops. He appointed his brother Gonzalo lieutenant-general of his army, and Alonso Alvarado maestre de campo, or major-general of the cavalry. When Almagro learnt that his prisoners had escaped,

14 Zarate forgets that only a few lines before, he had mentioned that Almagro carried these officers along with his army.—E.

escaped, and the numerous forces which the marquis had procured, he became desirous of an accommodation, for which purpose he sent Alfonso Enriquez, Diego Nugnez de Mercadura the factor, and Juan de Guzman treasurer, to the marquis to desire an interview, at which they might regulate every thing that was in dispute between them. After several messages and proposals, the marquis proposed to refer the whole matter to the umpirage of Francisco de Bovadilla, provincial of the order of Mercy, to which Almagro consented.

In virtue of the powers given to him by both parties, Bovadilla ordained that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty; that Cuzco should be restored to the marquis; that both armies should be disbanded, and the different companies sent in various directions to discover and conquer the country; and that finally the whole dispute about the boundaries of the two governments should be referred to the decision of his majesty. Bovadilla likewise persuaded Almagro and Pizarro to have an interview in the village of *Mala* [15], mid-way between the two armies, at which they might discuss the terms of an entire reconcilement, each to be attended by twelve horsemen. They accordingly set out for that place from their respective camps; but as Gonzalo Pizarro did not give implicit confidence to the promise of Almagro, he followed his brother with the whole army, which he secretly posted in the neighbourhood of Mala, placing Castro with forty musketeers in ambush among some reeds near the road by which Almagro had to pass, and directing him, in case Almagro was accompanied by a larger force than was agreed on, to give notice by a discharge of musketry, that Gonzalo might hasten to the defence of the marquis.

Before leaving Chincha on his way to the interview with Pizarro, Almagro left orders with his lieutenant-general, Rodrigo Orgognez, to keep vigilant guard againt the machinations of the enemy, in case the marquis should bring a greater escort than was agreed upon, that he might send him prompt assistance; and if any treason were practised against him, that Ferdinand Pizarro should be considered as an hostage for his safety. On their meeting, the marquis and Almagro embraced each other with much apparent cordiality; but after a short discourse, in which no part of their difference was alluded

15 Mala, or San Pedro de Mala, is a town and sea-port on a river of the same name, about 50 miles south from Lima.

alluded to, one of the horsemen who accompanied the marquis, whispered to Almagro that he was in danger, and advised him to retire without delay, as Gonzalo Pizarro had placed an ambush to intercept him. Almagro immediately called for his horse; and several of the attendants on Pizarro, seeing Almagro about to retire, endeavoured to persuade the marquis to have him arrested, which could easily have been done by means of the musqueteers under De Castro. To this the marquis would by no means consent, being resolved to keep his promise inviolate, and would not believe that Almagro meant to go away without coming to some conclusion on the subject of their meeting. Almagro however went away; and as he saw the ambush on his way back, he was convinced that treachery was intended against him, and made loud complaints of the conduct of the marquis after his return to Chincha. Yet, by the intercession of Diego de Alvarado, Almagro set Ferdinand Pizarro at liberty, on condition that the marquis should provide him with a ship and a free port, by which he might send dispatches to Spain and receive answers, and that they should continue in peace until they received the final determination of the sovereign respecting the boundaries of their governments. Rodrigo Orgognez was exceedingly averse from this measure of liberating Ferdinand Pizarro, who had been harshly treated while a prisoner, and who he believed would be eager for revenge if set free, and strongly urged Almagro to put him to death. But Almagro would not listen to his advice, and sent Ferdinand Pizarro to the marquis, accompanied by his own son the younger Almagro and several gentlemen. Ferdinand Pizarro was hardly set off on his return, when Almagro began to repent that he had set him at liberty; and it is believed he would have been remanded to prison if he had not made haste on his journey, during which he was met by several of his brothers principal officers.

Soon after the liberation of his brother Ferdinand, the marquis received provisional orders from his majesty, by the hands of Pedro Anzures; by which the two governors were commanded to retain the countries which each of them had discovered and conquered, and in which they had formed establishments at the time when this provisional order should be notified to them; neither of them making any attempt to disturb the other until his majesty should give definitive orders on the subject. Having now his brother at liberty, the marquis

quis sent a notification to Almagro of this imperial order, requiring him to retire according to his majestys orders from the country which he, Pizarro, had discovered, and in which he had established colonies. Almagro answered, that he was ready to obey the orders of his majesty, in keeping possession of the country and establishments he occupied when the imperial order was notified, for which reason he required the marquis to leave him in the peaceable enjoyment of what he now possessed, declaring that on his part he would carefully and entirely perform whatever should be finally commanded by his majesty. The marquis replied, that the city of Cuzco and the adjoining territory had been first discovered, colonized, and occupied by him, of which he had been violently dispossessed by Almagro, that in conformity with the orders of his majesty, therefore, it behoved Almagro to evacuate that city and territory, or he would drive him from it by force, as all the compacts and conventions which had been entered into between them were abrogated by this new regulation of his majesty.

As Almagro refused to accede to these demands, the marquis marched against him with his whole force, on which Almagro retired towards Cuzco, and fortified himself on a high mountain named Guavtara, breaking up all the roads to render the approach to his camp as difficult as possible. Ferdinand Pizarro found means to ascend the mountain during the night by a secret path, and forced the passages with his musqueteers, so that Almagro was forced to abandon this position, seeking his safety in flight. Being sick at the time, he went with the advanced guard, leaving Orgognez to bring up and protect the rear. One night, Orgognez learnt by two of Pizarros horsemen who were taken prisoners, that the enemy were close up with his rear, on which he hastened the retreat as much as possible, although several of his officers were anxious for him to turn back upon the pursuers, knowing by experience that those who usually inhabited the plain were liable, on their first coming into the mountainous region, to sickness and vomiting, very much resembling sea-sickness. Orgognez refused to listen to this advice, because contrary to the orders of Almagro; yet it was believed he might have been successful, as the troops belonging to the marquis were in reality affected by that ordinary malady, and were besides so much distressed by the snow that Pizarro retired back with his army into the maritime plain of Peru. Almagro continued

continued his march to Cuzco, where he employed himself for two months in raising recruits, procuring ammunition, preparing arms of silver and copper, founding cannon, and making every preparation to defend himself against Pizarro.

After the return of the marquis into the plain, various consultations were held as to the best plan of procedure, and it was at last determined that Ferdinand Pizarro, now lieutenant-general under the marquis, with his brother Gonzalo Pizarro as major-general, should march with the army against Cuzco [16]. On this occasion, a manifesto was circulated as the reason of this measure, that several of the inhabitants of Cuzco had made complaints to the marquis against the tyranny of Almagro, who had violently seized their goods and houses, and dispossessed them of their Indians and every thing that belonged to them. The marquis returned to Lima, and his brother Ferdinand marched at the head of the army towards Cuzco. Having arrived on the mountainous ridge near Cuzco in the evening, all his officers urged Ferdinand Pizarro to descend immediately into the plain that the army might encamp there for the night; but Ferdinand positively rejected this advice, and ordered the army to encamp on the mountain. Early next morning, the whole army of Almagro was seen drawn up in order of battle on the plain, under the supreme command of Orgognez; Francisco de Chaves, Juan Tello, and Vasco de Guevara, having the command of the cavalry under his orders. On the side of the mountain there was a great body of Indians in charge of a small number of Spaniards, intended to be employed as circumstances might admit in the expected battle. In the meantime, all the friends and partizans of the marquis who were in Cuzco were committed prisoners to the citadel, which was so extremely crowded on this occasion, and the places appropriated for their confinement so small, that several of them were stifled.

On the following day, after the solemnization of the mass, Ferdinand Pizarro marched his army into the plain of Cuzco in order of battle, and advanced towards the city, intending to gain possession of some high ground which overlooked the citadel.

16 According to Robertson, II. 334, after an unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains by the direct road from Lima to Cuzco, Ferdinand marched southwards in the maritime plain to Nasca, whence he penetrated by the defiles of the mountains in that quarter.—E.

citadel. Ferdinand and his troops flattered themselves, from their great superiority in numbers, that Almagro would not risk a battle, and were even anxious to spare the effusion of Christian blood on the present occasion, in which the natives of the same country and subjects of the same sovereign were preparing to destroy each other, instead of uniting in a common cause for the general good of all. Orgognez was actuated by a different principle, and had occupied the only passage by which the troops of Pizarro could approach towards Cuzco, in which he had drawn up his troops and artillery with much judgment, under cover of a marsh, across which it was necessary for the troops of Pizarro to pass before they could attack his position. Immediately on reconnoitring the order of the enemy, Ferdinand Pizarro ordered captain Mercadillo to advance with his cavalry to a proper place for keeping the Indians in check in case they should attempt to attack his army while engaged in battle with Orgognez, and whence likewise he might be able to give succour where necessary during the approaching engagement. Before the Spaniards began to engage, the Indians on both sides skirmished with each other. The cavalry of Pizarro endeavoured to pass the morass, and being opposed by a squadron of Almagro's horse, the musketeers belonging to Pizarro advanced in front of their own horse and soon compelled the adverse cavalry to give ground. On seeing this successful commencement of the battle, Pedro de Valdivia, a maestre de campo of the marquis, assured his friends that the victory was their own. While the troops of Pizarro were passing the marsh, the Almagrians plied their artillery, and by one discharge five men belonging to Pizarro were brought down. But Pizarro pressed on under cover of a close fire from his musketeers, and passed both the marsh and a rivulet beyond, and drew up in good order on the firm ground, every one of the captains having been previously instructed how to proceed with their divisions before the engagement commenced. As Pizarro noticed that the pikemen in the army of Orgognez carried their pikes high, he gave orders to his musketeers to fire a little high, by which means in two vollies they broke above fifty of the enemies pikes [17]. At this time Orgognez ordered

17 Garcilasso informs us that the musketeers of Pizarro used a kind of chain shot on this occasion; their leaden bullets being cast in two hemispheres connected together by several links of a small iron chain.—E.

ordered his army to advance to the charge, and observing that several of his divisions hesitated, being held in check by the fire of the musqueteers, he moved on himself at the head of his main body, directing his attack to that part of the enemy where Ferdinand Pizarro was seen at the head of his squadrons. Orgognez apparently despairing of the battle, called out while advancing, "Follow me who will! I go in the name of God to do my duty, and to seek an honourable death!" While Orgognez was advancing, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonso Alvarado observed that his flank was uncovered, and accordingly made an immediate charge, by which above fifty of the Almagrians were overthrown. Orgognez was wounded by a musket-ball in the head, which broke through his beaver; notwithstanding which he killed two men with his lance, and wounded one of Pizarros servants in the mouth whom he mistook for the general, as he was finely dressed. For some time the engagement was extremely severe and the combatants were mingled together; but at length the troops of Pizarro forced the Almagrians to take to flight after they had a considerable number killed and wounded.

Almagro being sick, took no part in the battle, which he observed from a height at some distance, and on seeing his troops take to flight, exclaimed, "I thought we had come out to fight like valiant soldiers, not to run away like cowards." He immediately withdrew to the citadel of Cuzco, to which place he was pursued by Gonzalo Pizarro and Alonso Alvarado, and made prisoner. Orgognez was taken prisoner by two of Pizarros horsemen, who were leading him away when a third came up who bore him a grudge for some injurious treatment, and cut off his head. Several others who had surrendered were slain in this manner by personal enemies, in spite of every endeavour by Ferdinand Pizarro and his officers to protect them. The soldiers of Alvarado especially, ashamed and irritated by the defeat they had formerly sustained at the bridge of Abancay, were eager for revenge, and put many of the Almagrians to death in cold blood. Captain Ruy Dias had taken up a prisoner behind him on horseback, on purpose to protect him, when one of his own troopers run him through with his lance.

When the Indian servants of the two armies saw that the battle among the Christians was ended, they too gave over fighting, and fell to plundering the dead, whom they stripped of their clothes and valuables, even pillaging several who were

yet alive, but unable to defend themselves because of their wounds; and as the conquerors were entirely taken up in pursuing their victory, the Indians had it in their power to do as they pleased, so that they entirely stripped every one whom they found on the field of battle. The Spaniards, both victors and vanquished, were so worn out and fatigued by their exertions in this battle, that they might have been easily destroyed by the Indians who were present, if they had dared to attack them according to their original intention; but they were so busied in plundering the killed and wounded, that they neglected the opportunity of avenging themselves on their oppressors. This decisive battle was fought on the 6th of April 1538, in a plain called *Cachipampa* or the field of salt by the Indians, about a league to the south of the citadel of Cuzco, near a salt spring from which the inhabitants make great quantities of salt; and as these salt works are in the neighbourhood of the field, this engagement has been always known by the name of the battle of *Salinas*, or of the salt works [18].

After this decisive victory, Ferdinand Pizarro used every means to conciliate the officers of Almagros army who had survived the battle, that he might engage them in the party of the marquis, and being unsuccessful, he banished several of them from Cuzco. Being unable to satisfy the demands of all those who had served him on the late occasion, as many of them thought so highly of their own merits that the government of Peru would hardly have been a sufficient reward in their own estimation, Ferdinand Pizarro resolved to separate the army, sending it away in various detachments to discover and conquer those parts of the country which had not been hitherto explored and reduced. By this measure, he at the same time rewarded his friends by giving them opportunities to distinguish and enrich themselves, and got rid of his enemies by sending them to a distance. On this occasion Pedro de Candia was sent with three hundred men, part of whom had belonged to Almagro, to conquer the country of Collao, a mountainous district which was said to be extremely rich. Not being able to make any progress in this country on account of the difficulty of the roads, he had to return; besides

18 In Zarate the date of this battle is given as the 26th of April, in which he is followed by Robertson; but Garcilasso carefully notices the mistake, and assures us that it was fought on the 6th of the month.—E.

besides which his troops became mutinous, chiefly at the instigation of one Mesa, who had been commissary of artillery under Almagro, and was encouraged by the other soldiers of Almagro who served on this expedition. On this, Candia arrested Mesa and sent him to Ferdinand Pizarro with the evidences of his guilt. This circumstance, combined with information of conspiracies in several other places, which had for their object to free Almagro from prison and to give him possession of Cuzco, satisfied Ferdinand Pizarro that the country would never be in quiet while Almagro lived.

Ferdinand accordingly brought Almagro to trial, in which he was convicted of giving occasion to all the preceding disorders, of which he was the first and chief cause; having begun the war by several acts of hostilities; having taken forcible possession of the city of Cuzco by his own private authority, where he put several persons to death merely for opposing his unlawful usurpation; and having marched in hostile array into the province of Chincha, which incontestibly belonged to the province assigned to the marquis. When sentence of death was pronounced, Almagro said every thing he could think of to excite the compassion of Ferdinand Pizarro that he might spare his life. He represented that the marquis in a great measure owed his present greatness to him; as he had advanced the greatest proportion of the original funds for the discovery of Peru. He desired Ferdinand to recollect, that when he was a prisoner in his hands, he had set him at liberty contrary to the representations of his officers, who advised that he should be put to death: And that though he, Pizarro, might have been ill treated while a prisoner, that had been done without his orders or knowledge. He intreated him to consider his very advanced age, which would soon bring him to the grave, without the disgrace of a public punishment. Ferdinand expressed his astonishment that one of such great courage should shew so much fear of death, which was now inevitable, and desired him to submit to the will of God like a good Christian, and to meet death with the courage of a gentleman and a man of honour. Almagro replied, that he ought not to be surprised at seeing him afraid of death, being a man and a sinner, since even Jesus Christ had evinced a fear to die. All this however was of no avail, as Ferdinand caused him to be beheaded.

After the execution of Almagro, Ferdinand Pizarro went

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to Collao, where he punished Mesa for having excited mutiny among the troops of Candia; after which he sent the three hundred men under the command of Peranzures to reduce the country which had been assigned to Pedro de Candia. These troops had to march by a most difficult and dangerous route among morasses and uncultivated places, where they thought to have perished of famine. Ferdinand remained in Collao, which he reduced. This is a level country containing several gold mines, but so cold that it produces no maize, the natives living principally on a root named *papas*, which resembles truffles. This country likewise abounds in those Peruvian sheep which have been formerly described [19]. About this time the marquis came to Cuzco, to which place Ferdinand went to confer with him, leaving his brother Gonzalo Pizarro to continue his conquest. Gonzalo advanced into the province of the Charcas [20], where he was attacked by a great body of Indians and reduced to great straits, insomuch that Ferdinand set out from Cuzco to his assistance with a body of horse. On this occasion, on purpose to encourage these succours to use every possible expedition, the marquis gave out that he meant to go in person to relieve his brother Gonzalo, and actually went two or three days journey from Cuzco. When Ferdinand arrived at Charcas, he found that Gonzalo had already extricated himself from his difficulties, having defeated and dispersed the enemy. They continued together for some time reducing the country, having frequently to fight with the Indians, till at last they took their chief prisoner, named *Tixo* [21], on which the natives universally submitted. Ferdinand and Gonzalo now returned to Cuzco, where the marquis distributed settlements to every one sufficient to maintain them in ease and comfort.

About this time likewise various other parties were sent out in different directions to discover and reduce the provinces of Peru and the neighbouring districts; among the commanders of

19 Collao in the text is probably Cailloma of modern maps, a very elevated valley at the head of one of the branches of the Apurimac. The marshy country beyond, to which Candia and Peranzures were sent on discovery, is called Musu by Garcilasso, and was probably the Pampas or marshy plains of the Mojos or Muju, to the east of the Andes, nearly in the latitude of Cailloma.--E.

20 We learn from Garcilasso that in this province the city of La Plata was afterwards built, not far distant fromthe famous mines of Potosi and Porco —E.

21 Perhaps the Inca Titu Yupanqui is here meant, who was named Tizogopangui by Zarate on a former occasion.—E.

of these detachments were the captains Vergara, Porcel, Mercadillo, and Guevera. Pedro de Valdivia likewise was sent to Chili, where Almagro had formerly been, and Gonzalo Pizarro to Quito, of whose adventures we shall speak hereafter. When all these matters were arranged, by which the Spaniards were dispersed in various parts, and tranquillity was restored to the country, Ferdinand Pizarro set out for Spain to give an account to the emperor of all the transactions which had taken place in Peru, though many advised him not to run the risk of that measure until it was known what judgment might be formed at court respecting the death of Almagro. Before his departure, Ferdinand strongly advised his brother the marquis to put no trust in those who had adhered to the service of Almagro in the late troubles, who were usually denominated the *Chilese*, and particularly that he ought to keep them at a distance from each other, being well assured that if even eight or ten of them were permitted to dwell in one neighbourhood, that they would form conspiracies against his life.

Section IV.

Expeditions of Pedro de Valdivia into Chili, and of Gonzalo Pizarro to Los Canelos.

On the arrival of Pedro de Valdivia in Chili, he was peaceably received by the Indians, who wished to gather in their crops, as it was then the season of harvest. When this important business was accomplished, the whole country rose upon the Spaniards, who were unprepared for this event and somewhat dispersed, and killed forty of them before they could draw their forces together. On this occasion, when Valdivia was about to take the field to chastise the Chilese, part of his troops threatened to mutiny against his authority, and he was under the necessity of hanging several of the ringleaders, among whom was captain Pedro Sancho de Hosz, who was almost equal to himself in the command of this expedition. After the suppression of this mutiny, Valdivia took the field against the Indians, and during his absence an army of the enemy exceeding seven thousand men came to attack the newly established city, in which only a small number of Spaniards remained for its defence, under the command

mand of the captains Francisco de Villagran, and Alfonso de Monroy. These officers went boldly out against the Chilese, at the head only of thirty horsemen, with whom they fought bravely against the immense number of Chilese archers from morning till night, after which they retired into the city, extremely fatigued and several of them wounded, but none of them slain. As the Chilese suffered a great loss in killed and wounded during this engagement, they retired during the night.

For eight years afterwards, Valdivia and his troops defended themselves bravely against every effort of the Chilese, who continued the war incessantly. In all that time, Valdivia obliged his soldiers to cultivate a sufficient quantity of land for their sustenance, not being able to procure Indians for that purpose, yet resolved not to abandon the country which had been commited to his government. At the end of that period he returned into Peru, at the time when the licentiate Pedro de la Gasca was employed in levying an army against Gonzalo Pizarro, as shall be related in the sequel [1].

Soon after the overthrow of the Almagrians, it was reported in Peru that a very rich country had been discovered to the eastwards of Quito, which in particular contained great quantities of cinnamon trees, on which account it got the name of Los Canelos, or the cinnamon country. The marquis accordingly resolved to send his brother Gonzalo Pizarro to discover that country; and as it was necessary to march thither by way of Quito, where likewise every requisite for the expedition was to be procured, the marquis conferred the government of the kingdom of Quito on his brother, till his majestys pleasure might be made known. Gonzalo Pizarro accordingly set out from Cuzco with a considerable force, taking his route for Quito by way of the elevated mountain vallies [2]. In this march he was opposed by the Indians of the province of Guanuco with so much perseverance and bravery, that the marquis was under the necessity of sending him a reinforcement under Francisco de Chaves. After

1 We shall have a future opportunity of giving a better account of the discovery and conquest of Chili than this extremely meagre notice by Zarate from Molina, Ovalle and other early authors. The nameless city mentioned by Zarate was probably St Jago de Chili, which was founded by Valdivia. The commencement of the Valdivian expedition was in the year 1530.—E.

2 This force, according to Garcilasso, amounted to 100 horse, and an equal number of foot.—E.

After having overcome this obstacle, he arrived in safety at Quito, where he proceeded to make preparations for his expedition to Los Canelos.

On account of the hostile conduct of the Guanucos towards Gonzalo, and because the curacas or caciques of that province, in conjunction with those of the Conchucos had made frequent attacks on the city and province of Truxillo, in which they killed all the Spaniards they could meet with and pillaged the country, not even sparing their Indian neighbours, the marquis sent a detachment of troops under Gomez de Alvarado to make a conquest of Guanuco, with orders to establish a settlement in that country to keep the natives under subjection. In their military expeditions, the Peruvians of Guanuco carried an idol along with them, named Cataquilla, to which they made offerings of all whom they massacred or made prisoners, and of the spoil which fell into their hands. They persisted for a long time in their barbarous hostilities, till at length, Miguel de la Cerna raised a considerable force in Truxillo, with which he joined Francisco de Chaves. With these forces conjoined, they fought successfully against the Indians of Guanuco and reduced them to subjection.

When Gonzalo Pizarro had completed the preparations for his expedition, he set out from Quito in the year 1540 at the head of 200 Spaniards well equipped, of whom the half was cavalry [3]. He was attended by 4000 friendly Indians [4], and by a flock of 4000 animals, consisting of swine and Peruvian sheep, to serve as provisions, and to carry the baggage and ammunition of the army. After passing a place called Inca, the boundary of the conquests of Huana Capac towards the north and east, Gonzalo arrived in the country of the Quixos, where he was opposed by the natives, but they all disappeared one night, without the Spaniards being able to make a single prisoner. On the retreat of the Indians, Gonzalo and his troops took possession of their deserted habitations in which they rested for some days. While here, the country was visited by a dreadful earthquake, accompanied by prodigious thunder and lightning and an immense fall

3 According to Garcilasso de la Vega, his force consisted of 340 Spaniards, of whom 150 were horsemen.—E.

4 These Indians, according to Garcilasso, were laden with arms, provisions, and ammunition, besides large quantities of hatchets, ropes, nails, and wooden pins, to use upon occasion.—E.

fall of rain. The earth opened in many places and swallowed up above five hundred houses. By the excessive rains, which continued forty or fifty days, a river in the neighbourhood of the Spanish quarters became so swollen that it was quite impassable, in consequence of which the troops suffered much from famine, as they were unable to get across the river in search of provisions. On the cessation of the tempest, Gonzalo had to cross a prodigious ridge of mountains, on the top of which they suffered such extreme cold that many of their attendant Indians were frozen to death. And as no provisions or shelter could be had in that elevated region, he made haste to arrive in the province of Zumaco [5] which is situated at the foot of a volcano. As provisions were found here in abundance, the army halted in this place for refreshments. In the mean time Gonzalo went with a small party of troops to endeavour to find out a passage through the forest. He at length reached the banks of a river named Coca, whence he sent for the remainder of his people to join him from Zumaco. During two months that the army remained in this country, it never ceased raining day or night, so that they never had a sufficient interval in which to dry their clothes.

In this province of Zumaco the trees are found which afford cinnamon. These trees are very large and have leaves resembling the laurel. Their fruit grows in clusters, consisting of a nut resembling the acorn of the cork tree, but larger, and containing a number of small seeds. The fruit, leaves, bark, and roots have all the taste and flavour of cinnamon; but the best consists of the shell or nut which contains the seeds. In the whole of that country vast numbers of these trees are found wild in the woods, growing and producing fruit without care; but the Indians cultivate them with much attention in their plantations; and these cultivated trees produce a much better cinnamon than those trees which grow wild. This cinnamon is in great request among the natives, and is exchanged by the inhabitants of Zumaco with the neighbouring tribes, receiving in return provisions and other things of which they are in want.

Leaving the greater part of his people in the country of Zumaco, as has been already said, Gonzalo penetrated into the

5 Perhaps the elevated valley of Macas on the river Morona which runs into the Tunguragua.—E.

the country with much difficulty, accompanied by the most vigorous of his men, and guided by the Indians, who frequently gave him false accounts of the country in advance, on purpose to get him away from their own district. Thus the people of Zumaco informed him that the country beyond theirs was well peopled and had abundance of provisions; but he found it extremely barren and very thinly inhabited. Having penetrated to the province of Coca upon a large river of that name, he remained there about six weeks, waiting the arrival of the rest of his people from Zumaco, all the while treated in a friendly manner by the cacique of the district.

After his troops were all assembled at Coca, Gonzalo marched along the course of the river, till at last he arrived at a place where it fell over a cataract of above 200 fathoms making a noise that could be easily heard at six leagues distance. A few days march below that place, the whole waters of the river became confined in a rocky channel not exceeding twenty feet wide, while the rocks were at least 200 fathoms in height above the water, and perfectly perpendicular. After a march of fifty leagues along the banks of this river, the Spaniards could find no place where they might possibly cross over, except at that narrow rocky channel, where a considerable number of Indians opposed their passage. Having driven away these Indians by means of their firearms, the Spaniards constructed a wooden bridge across between the steep rocks, over which they all passed in safety.

After crossing the river, the Spaniards penetrated through the woods to a country named Guema, which was extremely flat and intersected with rivers and marshes, and in which they could get no provisions except wild fruits; but after this they came to a country tolerably peopled, in which there were some provisions. In this place the natives wore cotton vestments, but in the whole country through which they had hitherto passed, the few natives they had seen were entirely naked, either on account of the continual and excessive heat of the climate, or because they had no means of procuring clothes: The men had only a kind of girdles round their waist, with some strings tied to their prepuce, which passed between their thighs and were drawn up to the girdle; and the women wore some slight clouts. At this place Gonzalo built a bark to serve for crossing the rivers in search of provisions, and to transport the baggage and the sick by water. Besides, in some places the country was so covered with

wood,

wood, that they were unable to clear the way by means of their swords and hatchets, and in other places so inundated, that they were often obliged to transport the whole party by water. The building of this vessel occasioned infinite difficulty and labour, as besides cutting down wood for the purpose, they had to construct a forge in which to make the necessary iron work, which they made from the shoes of their dead horses. On this occasion, Gonzalo not only obliged every one to labour without regard to rank, but gave the example himself in using both the hatchet and the hammer as occasion required. Instead of pitch and tar, the gum which exuded from some trees of the forest was collected; and instead of flax and hemp, the old clothes of the Indians and the wore-out shirts of the Spaniards were employed for caulking the seams. They at length succeeded in making their bark capable of swimming, so as to transport all their baggage very commodiously; besides which they hollowed out several canoes to accompany the bark instead of boats.

Gonzalo flattered himself that all his difficulties would be surmounted by means of this bark, and that he would now be able to pursue his discoveries to any extent he pleased. He continued his march therefore, accompanied by the bark which carried the baggage, while the main body had to travel along the banks of the river, often greatly incommoded in passing marshes, thick woods, and close brushwood. In some of these places they had to cut their way through canes and reeds with great toil, by means of their swords and hatchets; often changing from one side of the river to the other in search of an easier road. In this march they were always accompanied by the bark; and at night the whole party united together, that they might be able to give mutual assistance in case of need. After having penetrated above two hundred leagues, always following the course of the river, during which space they got only wild fruits and roots to support them, Gonzalo gave orders to Francisco de Orellana, one of his captains, to go forwards in the bark with fifty men in search of provisions; with orders to load his bark with these if he found any, leaving all the baggage at a place where two great rivers joined, according to information received from the Indians; and likewise to leave two canoes in a river which crossed the road to that place by land, to serve for ferrying over the troops.

Orellana set out accordingly in the bark, and was very soon carried by the current to the appointed place where the

two rivers met; but finding no provisions, and considering the immense difficulty of going up the river against a rapid current, he resolved to trust himself to the stream to try his fortune in that way. He even neglected to leave the two canoes at this place according to the orders of Gonzalo; and although several of those who were along with him in the bark urged him to remain according to the orders of his general, he insisted upon going forwards, even maltreating Friar Gaspard de Carvajal, who opposed this act of mutiny and desertion more forcibly than any of the rest. In his progress down the river, Orellana and his people frequently landed in search of provisions, and had often to fight with the Indians, who sometimes even attacked him in the bark by means of canoes, on which occasion the Spaniards could hardly defend themselves they were so crowded. On this last account he built a second bark, at a place where the Indians received him in a friendly manner and supplied him with provisions. From these Indians he was informed of a district a few days journey farther on, which was entirely inhabited by women, who made war and defended themselves against their neighbours [6].

Following continually the stream of the river, but without finding any gold or silver, or the least indication of these metals, Orellana arrived at the mouth of this river on the Atlantic Ocean, about 350 leagues from the island of Cubagua. This great river is called the Maragnon or Marannon, from a person of that name who first discovered its mouth. It takes its rise in Peru on the eastern slopes of the Andes of Quito, and its entire course measured in a straight line extends to 700 leagues; but following all its flexures from the Andes to the ocean, it measures at least 1800 leagues. At its mouth it measures 15 leagues in breadth, and in many parts of its course is three or four leagues broad. Orellana went afterwards into Spain [7], where he gave an account to his

6 Even Garcilasso, who is sufficiently fond of the marvellous and ever ready to adopt absurdities, honestly relates of these *Amazons*, that they were a fierce and wild nation of men, whose wives went forth to war along with their husbands; and that Orellana invented the tale of a nation of Amazons to raise the honour of his atchievement, and to induce the emperor to bestow upon him the government of the country he had discovered.—E.

7 According to Garcilasso, he contrived with great difficulty and danger to navigate in his rude bark from the mouth of the Marannon or Amazons to the island of Trinidada, where he purchased a ship for his voyage to Spain.—E.

his majesty of his discovery, which he pretended to have made at his own charges. He alleged that he had discovered a very rich country inhabited by a nation of warlike females, on which account the country and river came to be called *of the Amazons.* Having procured a commission of governor of this new country from his majesty, he levied a force of five hundred men for its conquest, with which he embarked from Seville: But having a most unprosperous voyage, in which his people suffered much from scarcity of provisions, most of his followers deserted from him at the Canaries, leaving him almost alone. He died during the subsequent part of the voyage, and all his remaining companions dispersed themselves among the islands.

Gonzalo Pizarro was reduced to prodigious straits in consequence of the desertion of Orellana, both by the want of provisions and the difficulty of passing the rivers in his course; besides which Orellana had carried away with him a great quantity of gold, silver, and emeralds, which he converted to his own use in making his solicitations at the court of Spain, and in fitting out his expedition for the conquest and settlement of Amazonia. On his arrival at the place where Orellana had been ordered to leave the canoes, for the purpose of facilitating the passage of certain rivers which fall into the great Maranon, Gonzalo and his people were exceedingly embarrassed, and had to make other canoes with much difficulty to enable them to cross over, that they might continue their journey. When they came afterwards to where the two large rivers joined [8], and where Orellana ought to have waited for them, they found a Spaniard who had been left at this place by Orellana, because he had opposed the continuation of the voyage, and preferred to wait in that place for his general [9]. By his account, Orellana had renounced his dependence on Gonzalo Pizarro, meaning to proceed to discover the river in his own name and authority, and had prevailed on the people who accompanied him to elect him of new for their captain.

8 The river Napo joins the Maranon in lat. 3° 20′ S. and long. 70° W. But we are uncertain whether this were the place where Orellana deserted, as there are many junctions of large rivers in the course of the vast Maranon. The two greatest of its tributary streams are the Negro which joins in long. 60° W. from the north, and the Madeira in long. 58° W. from the south.—E.

9 Garcilasso preserves the name of that faithful Spaniard, Hernando Sanchez de Vargas, a young gentleman of Badajoz.—E.

By the loss of their vessel Gonzalo and his men were deprived of every means of procuring provisions from the Indians, as all the mirrors, bells, and other baubles for trading with the natives of the country had been put on board the bark. In this hopeless and discouraging situation, above four hundred leagues distant from Quito, they came to the immediate resolution of returning to that city; although, from the length and difficulty of the way, through forests and marshes, they had very little hope of ever getting back, and could hardly expect to escape dying of famine in the mountains and deserts over which they had to pass. In fact above forty actually died of famine during the march. After recommending themselves to the mercy of God, they began their march in great dejection; and as the way in which they came from Peru was full of difficulties and destitute of provisions, they took another road in their return, altogether at hazard, which they did not find in any degree better than the former [10]. Before reaching Peru, they were under the necessity of killing all their remaining horses to keep themselves from starving, and even to eat all their dogs. In the course of this journey likewise, they were reduced to the necessity of feeding on certain strings, or twining plants, a good deal like the tendrils of vines, which they found in the woods, and which had the taste of garlic. During this march a wild cat or a turkey sold for four dollars, and one of the sea-birds named Alcatraz, formerly mentioned as being very bad eating, brought a dollar or more, although reckoned very unwholesome.

Some short time before Gonzalo got to Peru intelligence of his return had reached Quito, on which the inhabitants collected a considerable number of swine and Peruvian sheep which they sent off to meet him. They sent off at the same time a good many horses, and a supply of clothes for Gonzalo and his officers. This seasonable supply met them above fifty leagues from Quito, and one may easily judge that it was received with much joy, especially the provisions. The whole party, from the general to the private soldier, was almost entirely naked; as, from the almost continual rains to which they had been exposed, and the other hardships of their journey,

10 We learn from Garcilasso that this new road was on the north side of the river, Napo probably, and consequently that they had kept the south side in their way eastwards.—E.

ney, their clothes were all rotten and torn to rags, and they were reducedto the necessity of covering themselves with the skins of beasts. Their swords were all without scabbards, and almost destroyed with rust. Their legs and arms were torn and scratched by the brushwood, thorns, and brakes, through which they had travelled; and the whole party were so pale, lean, and worn out with fatigue and famine, that their most intimate acquaintances were hardly able to recognize them. Among all their privations, what they felt the most unsufferable, was the want of salt, of which they had not been able to procure the smallest supply for above two hundred leagues.

On arriving in the kingdom of Quito, where every thing they stood in need of was brought them, they knelt down and kissed the ground as a mark of gratitude and satisfaction, and returned thanks to God for their preservation from so many dangers. Such was their eagerness for food after so long famine, that it became necessary to regulate their supply, and only to allow them to eat by little and little at a time, till their stomachs became accustomed to digest their food. As there had only been sent from Quito a sufficiency of horses and clothes for Gonzalo and his officers, they refused to avail themselves of either, not choosing to enjoy any advantages which they could not share with their soldiers, by which they rendered themselves extremely popular and gained their affection greatly. They arrived at Quito in the morning, and went immediately to church to hear mass, and to give thanks to God for their delivery from so many and severe evils; after which every one retired to his quarters, to refresh and clothe themselves according to their means. This country of Los Canelos, whence the cinnamon is procured, is immediately under the equinoctial line, similar in that respect to the Molucca islands, whence cinnamon is brought into Spain and other parts of Europe [11].

SECTION

11 It is hardly necessary to say that cinnamon comes only from Ceylon, not from the Moluccas; and that so entirely different was the substance sought for in this disastrous expedition from cinnamon, that it is now entirely unknown in Europe; unless it be the Canella alba, now only used as a light aromatic of small value by druggists.

Zarate is generally loose and confused in his accounts, and almost entirely neglectful of dates. We learn from the History of America that this unfortunate expedition lasted near two years, and that two hundred and ten Spaniards

SECTION V.

Conspiracy of the Almagrians and Assassination of Pizarro.

ON his return to Quito in 1541, Gonzalo Pizarro received accounts of the most afflicting nature. When, as formerly related, Don Diego Almagro was put to death at Cuzco by Ferdinand Pizarro, a son whom Almagro had by an Indian woman was sent to reside in Lima. This young man, who was named after his father Diego Almagro, was of a graceful appearance, handsome, generous, and excelling in all the martial exercises, being particularly graceful and dexterous in riding the manage horse. His literary education likewise had been so carefully attended to, that he was considered as more versant in these things than his situation required. Juan de Herrada, formerly mentioned, to whose care he had been especially confided by his father, undertook the care of educating young Almagro in the capacity of his governor, and had been particularly watchful and successful in the charge. Their house in Lima was the rendezvous of such friends and partizans of the late Almagro as remained unemployed in Peru, and had been excepted from the division of lands and Indians after the defeat of their party, as the adherents of the Pizarros would not, and their dependents dared not to have any intercourse with them.

After the voyage of Ferdinand Pizarro to Spain, and the setting out of Gonzalo Pizarro upon his disastrous discovery of Los Canelos, Herrada and the younger Almagro, being now left at entire liberty by the Marquis, who before had held them in a species of imprisonment, began to take measures for the execution of an enterprize they had long contemplated. For this purpose they secretly provided arms and every thing that appeared necessary for their project of revenging the death of the elder Almagro. Their partizans were farther animated to the accomplishment of this design from

Spaniards and four thousand Indians perished during its continuance, only eighty Spaniards returning to Quito. Garcilasso says that two thousand of the Indians returned along with the Spaniards, and served them during the hardships of the journey with the most affectionate fidelity, supplying their extreme necessities with herbs, roots, and wild fruit, and with toads, snakes, and other reptiles, which the Spaniards greedily devoured, or they must have died for want of food.—E.

from resentment for the death of several of their friends and companions, who had been cut off during the late civil war. The marquis had often used his endeavours to reconcile Almagro and Herrada to his authority by gentle means, and by the offer of his friendship and patronage to them and their adherents; but finding all his advances ineffectual, he deprived Almagro of the moderate repartition of Indians which had been assigned to him, on purpose to prevent him from continuing to form a party by the application of his fortune to the support of the malcontents. All these precautions were ultimately ineffectual, as the Almagrians were so closely united among themselves, that all their property was in a great measure held common among the members of their party, even every thing that the individuals acquired by play or otherwise being thrown into a common stock in the hands of Herrada to serve their general expence. Their numbers increased daily, by the accession of all who were dissatisfied by the administration of the marquis, or who thought their merits overlooked in the distribution of property and employments. They secretly increased their store of arms, and took measures for securing the success of their plot.

Their conduct, however secretly pursued, being known among many, came at length to the knowledge of some friends of the marquis, who endeavoured to put him on his guard against the machinations of his enemies. But he, confiding in his honour and good faith, judged of others by himself, and refused to listen to this advice; saying that it was proper to leave these unfortunate men in peace, who were already sufficiently punished by the shame of their defeat, the public hatred, and the poverty to which they were reduced. So much were the Almagrians encouraged by the patient indulgence of the marquis, that their chiefs used even to pass him in public without saluting him or giving him any token of respect; and one night some of them had the audacity to affix three ropes to the gibbet, one of which was stretched towards the palace of the marquis, another towards the house of his lieutenant, and the third to that of his secretary. Even this insolence was forgiven by the marquis, in consideration of their misery and the unhappy situation of their affairs. Profiting by this indulgence, the Almagrians assembled together almost openly, several of their party who were wandering about the country without property or employment, coming to Lima from the distance even of two hundred leagues.

They

They resolved upon putting the marquis to death; yet waited to hear from Spain what judgment might be given in the case of Ferdinand Pizarro, who was there thrown into prison as accused of the murder of Don Diego Almagro; and to prosecute whom Captain Diego Alvarado had gone home and was actively engaged in soliciting his trial and punishment. When the conspirators learnt that his majesty had appointed the licentiate Vaca de Castro to proceed to Peru, on purpose to examine into all the past disorders, but without orders to prosecute the death of Almagro with that rigorous severity which they wished and expected, they resolved upon the execution of their long concerted enterprize. They were anxious, however, to learn exactly the intentions of Vaca de Castro, as the intended assassination of the marquis was by no means universally approved among the Almagrians. Several of the gentlemen belonging to the party, although much incensed at the death of Almagro, were anxious only for redress by legal means, and in a manner that might be conformable with the pleasure and service of the sovereign. The chiefs of this conspiracy who were now assembled in Lima, were Juan de Saavedra, Alfonso de Montemayor, Juan de Gusman controller, Manuel de Espinar treasurer, Nugnez de Mercado agent, Christoval Ponce de Leon, Juan de Herrada, Pero Lopez de Ayala, and some others. In this assemblage, Don Alfonso de Montemayor was deputed to wait upon Vaca de Castro; and accordingly set out with letters of credence and dispatches to meet Vaca de Castro at the beginning of April 1541. After his arrival at the place where Vaca de Castro then was, and before he proposed to return to his employers, news was brought of the assassination of the marquis. On this occasion, Montemayor and some others of the Almagrian party, who were not concerned in the murder, remained with Vaca de Castro till after the defeat of the younger Almagro in the battle of Chupas, preferring the service of their sovereign, in whose name and authority de Castro acted, to their individual resentments.

So public had the measures of the conspirators become in the city of Lima, that several persons gave notice of their intentions to the marquis, and advised him to employ a guard for the protection of his person: But he always said that the lives of others would guard him from violence, and that he was resolved to give no cause for suspecting that he used precautions of defence against the judge whom his majesty was

sending to Peru. On one occasion, Juan de Herrada complained to the marquis of a report that he meant to put all the friends of Almagro to death. The marquis assured him that the report was entirely groundless; and when Herrada mentioned that the marquis was collecting a great number of lances and other arms, as a confirmation of the report that these were intended against the Almagrians, the marquis replied in the gentlest terms, that these arms were by no means intended to be used against him or his friends. He even presented Herrada with several oranges which he pluckt for him, which were then esteemed a high delicacy, as they were the first that were grown in Peru; and told him privately, that if he were in want of any thing, he had only to give him notice, and he might depend on being provided for. Herrada kissed his hands, and thanked him for his kindness, going away delighted with the assurance that the marquis seemed to have no suspicion whatever of the conspiracy.

On arriving at his house, where the principal conspirators waited for him, it was determined to kill the marquis on the following Sunday, as they had not been able to put their design into execution on the festival of St John [1] as they at first intended. On the Saturday immediately preceding, one of the conspirators revealed the circumstances of the plot in confession to the curate of the great church of Lima. The curate went that same evening to communicate the intelligence to Antonio Picado, secretary to the marquis, who immediately carried the curate to Francisco Martinez de Alcantara, the marquises brother [2], where the marquis then was at supper together with his children [3]. On being informed of the urgent business on which they came, the marquis rose from table and retired to another room, where the curate informed him of every thing he had learnt respecting the conspiracy. The marquis was at first considerably agitated by his intelligence: but after a moments reflection, he said that he could not credit the story, as Herrada had been with

1 The festival of St John the Evangelist is on the 5th May but the assasination of the Marquis did not take place till the 26th June 1541.—E.

2 In a former note, it has been mentioned, on the authority of Robertson, that Francisco de Alcantara was the uncle of Pizarro by his mother; yet Garcilasso calls him his brother, and perhaps he was so by a different father.—E.

3 The language of the French translator is here rather equivocal, but distinctly bears the construction here given of the marquis being at supper in the house of de Alcantara.—E.

with him only a few days before, and had conversed with him with much humility; for which reason he was convinced that the man who now brought this intelligence had some secret end to serve, and had invented this story to assume merit. He sent however, for his lieutenant, the doctor Juan Velasquez [4] meaning to consult with him; but as Velasquez was ill in bed, the marquis went to his house, and told him all that he had heard. Velaquez used every argument to convince him that the story was false, and that he had nothing to fear. Taking up his rod of office, he declared that no one dared to revolt so long as he held that badge in his hand, and that the marquis might rest in security. He may be said in some measure to have kept his word; for when the Almagrians came next day to kill the marquis, Velasquez made his escape over a window, and took his rod of office in his teeth, that he might use both his hands to assist himself in his descent.

In spite of all these assurances the marquis was somewhat alarmed, insomuch that next day, being Sunday the 26th June 1541, he determined not to go to church, and had the mass said in his own house. After church, the doctor Velasquez and captain Francisco de Chaves, who were the principal persons in the colony, went along with several other persons to visit the marquis. Having paid their visit, they all retired to their houses, except Velasquez and de Chaves who remained to dine with him. After dinner, between twelve and one o'clock, when all the attendants of the marquis had retired to their dinner, and the whole city was quiet, Juan de Herrada and ten or twelve of his associates all armed sallied forth from the house of Almagro, which was not more than three hundred paces from the palace of the marquis, between which were part of a street and the whole breadth of the great square. On coming out into the street with their drawn swords, they exclaimed, "death to the tyrant who hath slain the judge sent by the emperor to execute judgment upon him." They used these words, and went thus openly, to induce the inhabitants to believe that their party was numerous, so that no one might take measures to oppose them. Besides this, the conspirators believed that there was no time for any one to interpose to prevent the execution of their purpose, and that it would either be accomplished,

4 By Garcilasso, Velasquez is called the Chief Justice.—E.

accomplished, or themselves slain in the attempt, before any effectual succour would arrive. On their arrival at the palace of the marquis, one of the party remained at the gate with a bloody sword in his hand, who cried out repeatedly, "*The tyrant is dead! the tyrant is dead!*" This had the desired effect, as several of the inhabitants who hastened to the palace on the alarm, being convinced that the marquis was already slain, retired again to their houses.

In the mean time Juan de Herrada and the rest of the conspirators rushed up the stair towards the apartment of the marquis, who, being alarmed by some of the Indian servants, desired de Chaves to shut the doors of the saloon and the hall, while he retired to put on his armour. De Chaves was so much confused, that instead of fastening the doors he went out to the staircase demanding the reason of the noise; on which one of the conspirators wounded him. "This, said he, is not the usage of a friend," and immediately drew his sword, but was soon overpowered and slain. The conspirators immediately rushed into the hall, whence ten or twelve Spaniards who were there made their escape by the windows: Among these was Velasquez, who, as has been already mentioned, took his rod of office in his mouth, that he might use his hands the more readily in making his escape by the window. The marquis was at this time in his chamber, employed in arming himself, attended by his brother de Alcantara, two other gentlemen, and two pages. Seeing his enemies so near, the marquis was unable to fasten the clasps of his cuirass, but advanced courageously with his sword and buckler to defend the entry to the chamber, in which he was bravely assisted by those who were along with him. He defended himself for a considerable time successfully, encouraging his brother and the rest by his voice and example. At length the Almagrians slew de Alcantara, on which one of the pages took his place beside the marquis. The Almagrians, being afraid lest succour might arrive, resolved to make a desperate effort, for which purpose one of the best armed among them forced in at the door and made room for the rest to enter, who now attacked the marquis and his faithful companions with such fury that he was soon exhausted with fatigue and hardly able to handle his arms. At length the marquis received a mortal thrust in his throat, and falling to the ground called out in a loud voice for a confessor. Soon losing all power of speech, he made the sign of the cross on

the floor with his finger, which he kissed and expired. Besides his brother, the two pages were likewise slain. Of the Almagrians, four were killed, and several of the rest wounded.

When the marquises death was made known, above two hundred men who waited the event, declared themselves loudly in favour of Don Diego, and went about the city arresting and disarming all who seemed to favour the party of the marquis. The conspirators went out into the street waving their bloody swords, and Herrada made Don Diego ride on horseback through the city of Lima, proclaiming him as governor of Peru. The palace of the marquis, and the houses of Alcantara and Picado the secretary were pillaged, Herrada assembled the cabildo of the city, and obliged them to acknowledge Don Diego as governor, under pretence that the elder Almagro had been appointed by his majesty to the government of New Toledo, with succession to his son or to any person he might appoint as his successor. The conspirators likewise put to death several persons who were particularly attached to the late marquis, and gave up their houses to be plundered by their own partizans. It was melancholy to behold the misery and desolation of the wives and children of those who were thus massacred, and whose houses were pillaged of every thing valuable, as they went about the streets bewailing their forlorn condition.

Some obscure persons [5] carried or dragged the dead body of the marquis to the church, where no one dared to give it burial, till one Juan Barbaran and his wife, who had been servants to the marquis, obtained permission from Don Diego, and buried the marquis and his brother as well as they could. They were obliged to hurry over the ceremony as quickly as possible, having hardly time to clothe the body in the habit of St Jago, of which order he was a member, and to put on his spurs according to the usual manner of burying the knights of that order; as they were informed that some of the Almagrians were hastening to the church to cut off the head of the marquis to affix it to the gallows. Barbaran himself performed the ceremonies of the funeral, at which he was sole mourner, and defrayed all the expences from his own funds. He next endeavoured to provide for the

5 Garcilasso, quoting Zarate, says that the body was dragged to church by some negroes; the French translator says *quelques miserables*.—E.

the security of the children of the marquis, who were concealed in different parts of the city of Lima, now under the absolute controul of the Almagrians.

In this melancholy catastrophe, we have a forcible example of the uncertainty and changeableness of fortune. In a very short space of time, a private individual who held no important office, had discovered a vast extent of country containing powerful kingdoms, of which he made himself master and governor with almost uncontrolled authority, bestowing on several persons such ample fortunes and extensive revenues as none of the richest and most powerful monarchs whom we read of in history had ever given away in so short a time. Yet was this man assassinated by only twelve men at noonday, in the midst of a city the whole inhabitants of which were his creatures, servants, kinsmen, friends, and soldiers, who had all eaten of his bread and subsisted on his bounty, even his own domestic servants and those who were in his house, flying away and abandoning him to his fate. He was interred in the most obscure manner, all his richness and greatness having disappeared, not enough being left to defray the consecrated tapers and other expences of his funeral. The unsearchable ways of Providence are surprisingly illustrated by these events; and particularly, that after all the warnings and just causes of suspicion which had been given him, he refused to take any precautions for his safety which he could have done so easily.

As the discovery and conquest of Peru, the subject of this work, originated from the two captains of whom I have hitherto dicoursed, the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, and the President Don Diego de Almagro; it seems proper to attempt giving their portraitures, with some account of their manners and qualifications, imitating in this the example of Plutarch; who, after giving the lives and heroic actions of two great commanders, institutes a comparison between them, shewing how far they resembled and differed from each other. We have already said all that could be learnt respecting their parentage. They were both personally brave and daring, patient of labour, of hale and robust constitutions, and exceedingly friendly, being always ready to do good offices to every one without consideration of expence. In their inclinations and manner of life they very much resembled each other, as neither of them were married, though Almagro attained to seventy-five years of age and the marquis to sixty-

five,

five. Both loved war; but Almagro, when not thus employed, willingly devoted himself to the management of his private affairs. They were both advanced in life when they undertook the discovery and conquest of Peru, in which they both encountered great fatigues, as has been formerly mentioned; but the marquis more especially was exposed to great dangers, far beyond those of the president, who remained long at Panama providing all necessaries for the success of the enterprize, while the marquis was actually engaged in the discovery and conquest of the greater part of the country. Both had great souls, continually occupied in vast designs and splendid enterprizes; yet both were of gentle and conciliatory manners, and of easy access to their followers. They were both liberal and generous in their gifts; yet the president loved to have his liberalities known and published to the world; while the marquis carefully concealed his gifts, and expressed uneasiness when they were known or blazed abroad; being more anxious to serve the necessities of those to whom he made them, than to make an ostentatious display of his munificence. One example of this is worthy of being mentioned. He learnt that one of his soldiers had lost a horse, on which occasion he went to a tennis-court belonging to his house, expecting to meet the soldier in that place, carrying with him an ingot of gold of ten pounds weight, which he meant to present him with. Not finding the soldier there, he engaged in a match at tennis without taking off his coat, as he did not wish the ingot should be noticed, which was concealed below his waistcoat. He remained there above three hours, when at length the soldier made his appearance. The marquis then took him aside and gave him the gold, saying that he would rather have given him thrice as much than have been obliged to carry that heavy weight so long.

Many other examples might be given of the secret liberalities of the marquis, who gave all his presents with his own hand that they might not be known. On this account, Almagro was always considered as more liberal, as his gifts were made in an ostentatious manner. They may be considered, however, as perfectly equal in their liberality and munificence; for, as the marquis used to acknowledge that all came from their common funds, being partners and associates in every thing derived from their joint discovery and conquest, the half of all that was given by one belonged to the other, so that he who consented to or participated in the present, was equally

equally generous with the actual donor. Besides, in proof that they both deserved the praise of liberality, they were both during their lives prodigiously rich in ready money and vast revenues, beyond any person or prince not sovereign who had been known for many ages; yet both died so poor that no mention is made of the treasures or estates left by them; so that hardly at their deaths was there sufficient to defray the expences of their funerals; resembling in that respect Cato and Sylla and some other famous Romans, who were buried at the public charge.

Both were exceedingly kind to their servants and dependents, whom on all occasions they delighted to enrich and advance, and to rescue from dangers. In this last particular the marquis carried his attentions even to excess, as appears by the following instance. In passing a river called the Baranca, one of his Indian servants, of the Yanaconas tribe, was carried away by the strength of the current, on which the marquis plunged into the stream and swam after him, catching him by the hair, and saved him at the imminent hazard of his own life, in so rapid a current that the bravest and most vigorous man in his army durst hardly have made the attempt. When his officers blamed him for his rashness in thus exposing his life, he answered that none of them knew how to value a faithful servant. The marquis enjoyed the authority of governor much longer in tranquillity than Almagro; who, though he hardly enjoyed that authority at all, was more ambitious, and evinced a more ardent desire of exercising command. Both affected simplicity in dress, keeping to the same fashion in their old age which they had been accustomed to in their youth. In particular, the marquis used ordinarily to wear a close coat of black cloth, the wide skirts of which came down almost to his ankles, while the body had a very short waist and was closely fitted to his shape. His shoes were of white leather, with a white or grey hat, and a plain sword and dagger in the old fashion. Sometimes on festivals, by the entreaty of his servants, he wore a robe of fine fur which had been sent him by the Marquis del Valle; but immediately on his return from church he put it off, remaining in his shirt or a plain jacket, with a napkin hanging from his neck to wipe away sweat, as he usually passed most of the day when in peace in playing at bowls or tennis.

Both Pizarro and Almagro were exceedingly patient of labour

bour and fatigue, and could submit better than most men to hunger and thirst and other privations; but especially the marquis, who was so vigorous that few young men were able to compete with him in his old days at athletic sports. The marquis in general was more addicted to play than Almagro, insomuch that he often spent whole days in playing at bowls, with any one that offered, whether mariner or miller was all one; and he never allowed any man to lift his bowl for him, or to use any ceremony whatever in respect to his rank. He was so fond of play, that few affairs were of sufficient importance to induce him to give over, especially when losing. But when informed of any insurrection among the Indians, he would instantly lay every thing aside, immediately bracing on his armour and seizing his lance and target, would hasten to the place where the mutiny had risen, without waiting for his people, who followed him with all expedition.

Both the marquis and the president were so brave and so experienced in the manner of making war with the Indians, that either of them alone would never hesitate when on horseback and armed to charge through a hundred Indians. Both were extremely intelligent, sensible, and judicious, and could take their measures both in civil and military affairs with great promptitude and propriety; yet both were so extremely illiterate that neither of them could read or write, or even sign their names; which assuredly was a great defect, and exceedingly inconvenient in carrying on the important affairs in which they were concerned; and although they in every other respect appeared like persons of high birth, and deported themselves like noblemen with much dignity and propriety, yet their entire ignorance of letters was an evident demonstration of the meanness of their birth. The marquis placed implicit confidence in his servants and friends, insomuch that in all his dispatches and orders relative to the government, and in the assignments of lands and Indians, he only made two lines with the pen, between which Antonio Picado his secretary wrote his name, Francisco Pizarro. As Ovid said of Romulus, respecting astronomy, we may say of Pizarro that he was more learned in the art of war than in the sciences, and applied himself more to know how to atchieve glorious conquests than to acquire literature. Both were exceedingly affable and familiar with the colonists, making them frequent visits, and they readily accepted invitations to dinner from any one; yet both were extremely moderate in eating and

and drinking; and both refrained from amorous connection with Spanish women, on the principle that to intrigue with the wives or daughters of their countrymen was both prejudicial and dishonourable to their neighbours. Almagro was the most continent in regard to the Peruvian women, as we know of no affairs of his gallantry in that country, his only son being born of an Indian woman of Panama. But the marquis had more than one attachment in Peru, having lived publickly with a sister of Atahualpa, by whom he had a son named Don Gonzalo who died at fourteen years of age, and a daughter named Donna Francisca. By another Indian woman of Cuzco he had a son named Don Francisco [6].

Both Pizarro and Almagro received high rewards from his majesty for their signal services; the former being created a marquis, with the authority of governor of New Castille, and the order of St Jago. Almagro was rewarded with the government of New Toledo, with the title of President or Lord Lieutenant of that country. The marquis always evinced the highest respect for his majesty, the utmost zeal for his service, and the most perfect obedience for his orders; insomuch that he would often refrain from doing many things which were evidently within the scope of his authority, lest he should appear to overstep the bounds of his commission. Frequently, when sitting in the meeting-houses where the gold and silver was assessed for the royal fifth, he would rise from his chair to pick up the small pieces which started from the scissars; observing that if the hands failed on such occasions, a loyal subject ought to use his mouth to serve the king. As these two great men resembled each other in many things during their lives, so in their deaths they were alike unfortunate: the president being put to death by the brother of the marquis, and the marquis slain by the son of the president.

The marquis was exceedingly anxious for the improvement of the country, giving every encouragement to the cultivation of the soil, and the establishment of colonies of Spaniards in different places. He built for himself a fine house or palace in

6 According to Garcilasso, the marquis had only one son and one daughter, Don Francisco being the son of his brother Gonzalo. Don Gonzalo, the only son of the marquis, was born of a daughter of Atahualpa, not a sister, named Angelina. Donna Francisca was the marquises daughter by Ynes Huayllas Nusta, a daughter of the Inca Huana Capac, whose Christian name was Donna Beatrix.—E.

in the city of Lima, and had two sluices constructed on the river to drive mills for its supply; employing much of his leisure in superintending the workmen, and instructing the overseers how he wished the works to be carried on. He was particularly diligent in procuring the erection of a great and handsome church in Lima, and monasteries for the Dominicans and the order of Mercy; both of whom he endowed with ample estates in lands and Indians.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF PERU, AFTER THE DEATH OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO, TO THE DEFEAT OF GONZALO PIZARRO, AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANQUILLITY IN THE COUNTRY; WRITTEN BY AUGUSTINO ZARATE [1].

SECTION I.

From the revival of the civil wars in Peru, to the close of the administration of Vaca de Castro, the first governor appointed from Spain.

AFTER Don Diego had made himself master of the city of Lima, he deprived the magistrates of all their insignia of command, but which he immediately returned to them, with orders to execute their official duties in his name and authority. He then ordered the Doctor Velasquez, who had been chief justice or adelantado under the marquis, and Antonio Picado who had been his secretary, to be taken into custody [2]. In the next place he appointed Juan Tello, Francisco

1 This chapter is merely a continuation of the history of the discovery and conquest of Peru, by Zarate: but we have thought proper to divide it in this manner, separating the transactions which took place during the life of Francisco Pizarro, from those which occurred after his death.—E.

2 *Il les fit prenare*, are the words of the French translator: *prendre* may possibly be an error of the press on this occasion for *pendre*; in which case those officers of the late marquis were ordered to be *hanged*; and indeed they do not appear in the sequel.—E.

cisco de Chaves[3], and one Sotelo to be captains of his troops. On the news of this revolution, all the idle vagabonds and debauched blackguards of the country hastened to enrol themselves under the banners of Don Diego, in hopes of participating in the plunder of the partizans of Pizarro, and of being enabled to live licentiously without labour. To enable him to pay his troops, Don Diego seized the fifth of the precious metals belonging to the crown, and took possession of the properties of those who had been massacred, and the revenues of all the absentees. In a very short time disputes and divisions arose among those who had taken part with Don Diego, as the leaders of the malcontent party among them were anxious to assassinate Juan de Herrada, because every thing was done and directed by him, Don Diego having only the name of captain general, while he in fact exercised the whole authority. The intention of these malcontents being discovered, several of them were put to death as seditious people; among whom was Francisco de Chaves, who was put to the rack and afterwards hanged as a ringleader of this new conspiracy. One Antonio de Orihuela likewise, who had only arrived of late from Spain, was beheaded, having imprudently asserted that the Almagrians were tyrants and usurpers.

Deputies or messengers were sent to all the cities and provinces of Peru, to induce the commandants and magistrates to recognize Don Diego as governor, which was done in many places out of fear: But Alonso de Alvarado, who was lieutenant governor in the province of Chachapoyas, ordered the deputies who were sent into his government to be arrested, declaring for his majesty in opposition to Don Diego, whom he denounced a rebel. He was encouraged in this bold procedure, because he was confident of being able to defend himself with a hundred men whom he commanded in a strong fortress of his province, which he fortified with much care. Don Diego used every effort to gain Alvarado to his party, by flattering promises and menaces of condign punishment; but he uniformly replied, that he would never acknowledge his authority without an express command from his majesty to that effect, and that he hoped, by the blessing of

3 There must have been two persons in Peru of this name and surname, as we have already seen *one* Francisco de Chaves killed on the same day with the marquis.—E.

of God and the assistance of the brave men whom he commanded, to revenge the death of the marquis, and to punish the Almagrians for their injurious and outrageous conduct, and the contempt of the royal authority which they had evinced in their whole procedure. Garcias de Alvarado was therefore sent with a force of cavalry and infantry, having orders to go in the first place to the cities of San Miguel and Truxillo, to deprive the inhabitants of these two colonies of their arms and horses, and then to march with all his troops against Alonso de Alvarado. Garcias went accordingly by sea to the port of Jauta, about fifteen leagues from Truxillo, where he found Captain Alonso de Cabrera, who had fled thither with all the inhabitants of Guanuco to join the people of Truxillo against the usurpation of Don Diego. Garcias made Cabrera and some other of his companions prisoners; and on his arrival at San Miguel he cut off his head, and likewise put to death Francisco de Vozmudiana, and Hernando de Villegas.

When the deputies or messengers of Don Diego arrived at Cuzco with orders to recognize him as governor general of Peru, Diego de Silva and Francisco de Carvajal were the chief magistrates of that city. These officers, together with the other magistrates and counsellors forming the Cabildo, were unwilling to submit to his authority, yet durst not declare themselves openly till they had maturely considered whether they were possessed of a sufficient force, and had enough of provisions and warlike stores to defend themselves in case of being attacked. On purpose therefore to gain time, they desired the messengers of Don Diego to return to their master, and to desire him to send them other deputies with more ample and more regular powers or instructions, after which they would recognize his authority. Gomez de Tordoya, who was one of the principal members of the royal council of Cuzco, happened not to be in the city when the deputies arrived, as he had gone out that day to take the diversion of hawking. The other members sent therefore a message to inform him of what was going on, and to desire his presence and advice. On his return to the city, he met the messengers of Don Diego, and having learnt the state of affairs, he twisted off the head of an excellent falcon which he carried on his fist, saying that fighting must now be followed, not the sports of the field. After a secret consultation with the rest of the Cabildo on the proper measures to be pursued

on

on the present emergency, he left the city the same night, and went to the residence of Captain de Castro. They sent immediately a message to Pedro Anzurez, the lieutenant of the province of Charcas, giving him an account of the state of affairs, and he declared himself at once for the party of his majesty.

Immediately afterwards Gomez de Tordoya set off in pursuit of Pedro Alvarez Holguin, who had lately marched with above a hundred men to reduce some revolted Indians: On coming up with Holguin, Tordoya immediately told him all that had taken place, earnestly intreating him to assist the loyal inhabitants of Cuzco in their just and honourable intentions, and to assume the command of such troops as might be collected for the defence of that city against the usurpation of Don Diego. To induce him to comply, Tordoya declared himself ready to become one of his soldiers, and to give an example of implicit obedience to his commands. Holguin immediately declared for his majesty, and agreed to assume the command. He and Tordoya assembled the inhabitants of the city of Arequipa, whom they confirmed in their loyalty, and immediately set out for Cuzco with all the force they could collect. On the arrival of Holguin and Tordoya near Cuzco, above fifty men who had declared themselves for Don Diego left the city, meaning to join him at Lima; but the royalists sent de Castro and Ferdinand Bachicao after them with a party of musqueteers, who came up with and attacked them during the right, and brought them all back prisoners to Cuzco.

All the magistrates and councillors of Cuzco concurred not only in the appointment of Pedro Alvarez Holguin as military commandant, but they named him captain general and governor of all Peru, coming under an oath of obedience to him in that high capacity till the pleasure of his majesty should be made manifest on the subject: And in testimony of their zealous loyalty, the whole inhabitants of Cuzco came under obligations to replace all the sums that Holguin might be under the necessity of taking from the effects and revenues belonging to the crown for the payment and equipment of his troops, in case his majesty might not approve and allow that expence. Besides this, all the inhabitants of Cuzco, Charcas, and Arequipa engaged voluntarily to serve in the war, and to contribute towards its expences. Immediately on his appointment to the supreme power, Holguin made a proclamation

clamation of war against Don Diego as a rebel, and in a short time assembled a force of 150 cavalry, 100 musqueteers and 100 pikemen. But learning that Don Diego had more than 800 men under arms, he did not consider himself powerful enough to wait for him in Cuzco, deeming it more prudent to march from thence by way of the mountain road, on purpose to join forces with Alonso de Alvarado, who had declared for his majesty. Holguin likewise expected to be joined upon the march by several of the friends and servants of the late marquis, who had concealed themselves from the rage of the Almagrians in different parts of the mountain region of Peru. In pursuance of this plan, Holguin set out on his march from Cuzco, having appointed Gomez de Tordoya his maestre de campo or major general, Garcilasso de la Vega [4] and Pedro Anzurez captains of horse, Nunno de Castro and Hernando de Bachicao captains of foot, and Martin de Robles as ensign to carry the royal standard. On leaving Cuzco, all who were unfit for active service in the field were left behind, and proper officers were appointed for maintaining the government and to distribute justice.

On receiving notice of all these events which had taken place in Cuzco, and that Holguin had marched from thence with his troops, Don Diego judged that Holguin would endeavour to form a junction with Alonzo de Alvarado who commanded in Chachapoyas, and would therefore proceed by the mountain road towards the north; he resolved therefore to march in such a direction as might enable him to intercept Holguin before his junction with Alonzo de Alvarado, but did not think it prudent to attempt this before the arrival of the force under Garcias de Alvarado, whom he had recalled from the originally concerted expedition against Alonzo de Alvarado [5]. While passing through Truxillo, levying men and providing arms and horses, Garcias proposed to have attacked Alonzo de Alvarado, but was resisted by the inhabitants of a town in the province of Chachapoyas named Levanto, and receiving his orders of recal from Don Diego he relinquished his design, and marched in all haste for Lima. Immediately after the return of Garcias, Don Diego began his march against Holguin, with a force of 300 horse, 100 musqueteers,

4 This officer was father to the historian of the same name.—E.
5 It was now the year 1542.—E.

musqueteers, and 150 pikemen; but before his departure, he banished the children of the late marquis and of Gonzalo Pizarro from the country, and executed Antonio Picado, having previously put him to the torture to endeavour to extort confession from him as to any hidden treasure belonging to the marquis.

"As during the civil dissentions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there between the marquis and the elder Almagro, already recounted, did not soon reach the court [6]. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country on the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared at court with great splendour, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissentions. It was obvious, that while the leaders entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease, and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and the vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation

6 As Zarate introduces Vaca de Castro into the history of Peru without any previous notice of his appointment, it has been deemed proper to give a short account of his commission from Robertsons History of America, II. 339, which, being too long for a note, is distinguished in the text by inverted commas.—E.

tuation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

"Nothing therefore remained but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary powers; who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and inquiring on the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state and the welfare of the colony. The man selected in 1539 for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmness, justified the choice. His instructions, though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was only to assume the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But, if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison where he remained above twenty years [7].

"Vaca de Castro, who left Spain in 1540, was driven by stress of weather in 1541, after a long and disastrous voyage, into a small harbour in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no less difficult than tedious, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it, as already mentioned. He immediately produced his commission appointing him governor of Peru, with the same privileges and authority which had been enjoyed by Pizarro; and his jurisdiction was acknowledged without hesitation by Benalcazar, adelantado or lieutenant general for the emperor

7 The remainder of the circumstances relative to de Castro, here quoted, are to be found in Robertson II. 353.; the other events in the history of Peru having been already given from Zarate.—E.

emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who had the command of the troops left in Quito in the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro. Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but shewed that he possessed the talents which the exercise of it at that juncture required. By his influence and address, he soon assembled such a body of troops as not only set him above all fear of being exposed to any insult from the adverse party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. By dispatching persons of confidence to the different settlements in Peru, with a formal notification of his arrival and of his commission, he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleasure with respect to the government of the country. By private emissaries, he excited such officers as had discovered their disapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifest their duty to their sovereign by supporting the person honoured with his commission. Those measures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldness; the timid ventured to declare their sentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it necessary to choose a side, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the safest, as well as the most just [8]."

Don Diego had hardly got two leagues from Lima, in 1542, when secret orders arrived there from Vaca de Castro, addressed to F. Thomas de San Martin, provincial of the Dominicans, and Francisco de Barrionuevo, to whom he committed the direction of public affairs till his own arrival. By these persons, the cabildo of the city was secretly assembled in the Dominican convent, to whom these orders were communicated, and who immediately recognized Vaca de Castro as governor, and Geronimo de Aliaga, his principal secretary, as adelantado or lieutenant governor of Peru. Immediately upon this formal act of recognition, the members of the cabildo and several of the principal citizens fled to Truxillo, fearing the resentment of the Almagrians. Although all this had passed in secret, it was communicated on the same night to Don Diego, who was disposed in consequence to have returned with the intention of giving up the city to plunder; but he was afraid lest by delay Holguin might

8 We now return to the narrative of Zarate.—E.

might escape into the north of Peru, and lest by returning, the arrival of the new governor might come to the knowledge of his troops. He determined therefore to continue his march against Holguin with all expedition. In spite of all his precautions, intelligence of the arrival of the new governor reached his camp, on which several persons abandoned him secretly, particularly the provincial of the Dominicans, Diego de Aguero, Juan de Saavedra, Yllen Suarez de Carvajal the commissary, and Gomez de Alvarado.

Although every consideration prompted Don Diego to use the utmost diligence in the present posture of affairs, he was under the absolute necessity of marching slowly, as Juan de Herrada his great friend and adviser fell sick of a mortal distemper. Owing to this delay, Holguin was enabled to get beyond the valley of Jauja in his march towards the province of Chachapoyas. Yet Don Diego followed after him with so much diligence that he very nearly got up with him. In this emergency, as Holguin was by no means in sufficient force to venture a battle with Don Diego, he put the following stratagem in practice to enable him to escape, which effectually succeeded. During the night he detached twenty horsemen to make an attack on the advanced guard of the enemy, with orders to take some prisoners if possible, and then to retire. They executed their orders successfully and made three prisoners, two of whom Holguin ordered to be immediately hanged, and offered life and liberty with a considerable reward in money to the third, if he would carry information to certain persons in the army of Don Diego, who he pretended were disposed to join him, that he intended to attack the right wing of the camp in the ensuing night, that they might be ready to assist him. He even administered an oath to this soldier that he would religiously keep the secret from every one but those to whom he was directed to carry the message. Being a young man and desirous of procuring the promised large reward, he readily undertook the commission, and returned to the camp of Don Diego. When Don Diego understood that this man had come back, and that his two companions were hanged by Holguin, he suspected that mercy had been shewn him on some private conditions; for which reason he ordered the soldier to be put to the torture, who immediately avowed all that had been confided to him. By this means, Don Diego was led to believe that Holguin actually intended to surprise him by night, and took

took effectual measures to receive him, placing the greatest part of his troops under arms all night on that side which the soldier mentioned as the part where Holguin was to attack. The intentions of Holguin were diametrically opposite to this story which he had put in the mouth of the soldier, meaning only to gain time for a secure retreat; so that immediately after dispatching the soldier, he decamped in the middle of the night, marching with all possible celerity to get his army into a place of safety, while Don Diego uselessly kept his army under arms in expectation of being attacked.

When Don Diego discovered the trick which had been imposed on him, he resumed the pursuit of Holguin with as much celerity as he could: But Holguin had sent a quick messenger to Alonso de Alvarado, requesting him to hasten to his assistance, which Alvarado did without delay with all his own troops and several of the inhabitants of Truxillo. On the junction of these officers a few days afterwards, Don Diego discontinued the pursuit, and returned towards Cuzco. Holguin and Alvarado sent off immediately to inform Vaca de Castro by letter of all the preceding events, and counselled him to advance without delay to join them, as they were in sufficient force to make him master of the country when strengthened by his authority. At this time Juan de Herrada expired at Jauja, and Don Diego detached a part of his army to the low country of Peru to collect those of his party who were at Arequipa and other places. His officers plundered the city of Arequipa, and dug up every where about the monastery of the Dominicans in search of treasure, as they were informed that the inhabitants of that city had concealed their valuable effects in that convent.

Vaca de Castro had reached Peru with much difficulty and fatigue. The voyage from Panama was exceedingly tedious and tempestuous, and the vessel in which he sailed lost all its anchors. Having at last reached the harbour of Buenaventura at the bottom of the bay of Choco on the coast of Raposo, he went from thence by land to the frontiers of the government of Benalcazar, who commanded in Popayan, and thence to Peru. He suffered much hardship and fatigue in that journey, both from the length and difficulty of the way and the scarcity of provisions, so that he fell sick as being quite unused to such fatigues. Yet as the death of the marquis and the subsequent events were already known in

Popayan,

Popayan, de Castro continued his journey with as little delay as possible, that he might endeavour by his presence to remedy the disorders of the country. Although Vaca de Castro had been sent to Peru ostensibly to investigate into and take cognizance of the death of Almagro, and of the subsequent transactions, without any order to deprive the marquis of the government, or even to suspend his authority; yet he had been furnished with a secret commission, by which he was authorized to assume the government, in case the marquis should die during his voyage, or after his arrival, and to exercise all the functions of that high office, till the emperor might give orders to the contrary. By the authority of this commission, he was received in the camp of Holguin and Alvarado as governor. He was accompanied thither by several persons who had joined him on his first arrival in Peru, particularly by Captain Lorenzo de Aldana, who had been lieutenant governor of Quito under the marquis. He sent before him Captain Pedro de Puelles, to make preparations for carrying on the war. He sent likewise Gomez de Royas to Cuzco, with orders to the magistrates and inhabitants of that city to receive him as lieutenant. Royas used so much diligence and address that he arrived at Cuzco and was received and acknowledged in the command of that place before Don Diego could reach it with his army.

When Vaca de Castro passed through the province of Bracamoras on his way from Quito to Truxillo, Captain Pedro de Vergara, who was then occupied in reducing that province, and had even fortified himself in a strong post on purpose to defend himself against Don Diego, joined him with all his men. At Truxillo the new governor was joined by Gomez de Tordoya, who had quitted the camp in consequence of a dispute with Holguin. He was joined likewise at Truxillo by Garcilasso de la Vega and some other gentlemen. By all these means, when Vaca de Castro left Truxillo to repair to the camp of Holguin and Alvarado, he had already collected a well armed force of more than two hundred men, all ready to obey his orders. Immediately on his arrival at the camp, Holguin and Alvarado received him with every demonstration of joy, giving up to him their standards and all other marks of authority; all of which he restored, except the royal standard, which he retained for himself. Having appointed Holguin to the command of the army, as maestre de campo general, he ordered him to march forwards

to Jauja, and to wait there till he himself might return from Lima, where he proposed going that he might establish its government in proper order, and on purpose to collect men, arms and ammunition. He gave orders to Holguin, that Captain Diego de Royas should always precede the army about twenty leagues, with a detachment of thirty horsemen, to gain intelligence of the motions of the enemy. At the same time he sent back Diego de Mora to Truxillo, to take the command in that city. De Castro thus took every proper precaution for the successful issue of his expedition, with as much prudent foresight as if he had been all his life enured to warlike affairs.

When Don Diego found that Holguin had escaped from his pursuit, as formerly related, he went to Cuzco with his army, where Christoval de Sotelo, whom he had detached there before him, had already taken possession of the city, and had displaced the magistrates who had been established there under the authority of the new governor. Immediately on the arrival of Don Diego at Cuzco, he made every exertion to provide artillery and gunpowder for the farther prosecution of the war. Both of these warlike articles are easily made in Peru. As to artillery, there is abundance of metal for that purpose, and there were also several persons in Cuzco who were perfectly well acquainted with the manner of founding cannon: These were *Levantines* or Greeks, several of whom had come to Peru out of respect for Pedro de Candia, who was master of the ordnance to Don Diego. Powder was likewise easily made in great abundance, as saltpetre is to be had in every part of that country of excellent quality. At the same time he had defensive armour made for those of his people who were in want, forming corslets and helmets of silver mixed with copper, which answered amazingly well, and, were made by the native artists, who fabricated every kind of arms in imitation of, and as good as those of Milan. By these means, and by collecting all the arms throughout the whole country, every one of his men was at least provided with a coat of mail, a cuirass or corselet, and a helmet [9]. In this manner Don Diego was enabled to equip two hundred musqueteers,

9 Garcilasso says, that on this occasion, the Inca Manca Capac, who had retired to the mountains, in remembrance of the friendship which had subsisted between him and the elder Almagro, provided Don Diego with large quantities of armour, swords and saddles, which had been formerly taken from the Spaniards, sufficient to arm two hundred men.—E.

musqueteers, and to establish several companies of men at arms, as hitherto in Peru, hardly any thing had been seen of that kind, the cavalry being all light horse except a very few.

While these preparations were going on, an unfortunate quarrel arose between the captains Garcias de Alvarado and Christoval de Sotelo, in which they drew their swords and Sotelo was slain. As both of these captains were principal leaders in the Almagrian party, and had many friends and partizans in the army, this unfortunate affair occasioned much strife, and had nearly occasioned a battle between the friends of the two combatants; but Don Diego appeased them with some difficulty, and by using a great deal of address. But as Garcias de Alvarado plainly perceived that Don Diego took the death of Sotelo much to heart, whom he dearly loved, and feared lest he might take measures afterwards of revenge, he endeavoured to take precautions in the meantime for his own safety, and for this purpose proposed to have assassinated Don Diego. With this view he one day invited Don Diego to dinner, intending to have put him to death during the entertainment. Don Diego accepted the invitation, but when the appointed day came, having some suspicion of what was intended, he sent an excuse for his absence, on pretence of being indisposed. As Garcias had provided every thing for the execution of his design, he went with several of his friends to endeavour to prevail on Don Diego to come to the entertainment. While on his way, he met a soldier named Martin Carillo who advised him to stay away from the house of Don Diego, who he was fully persuaded intended to put him to death. He continued his purpose however, and received a similar advice from another soldier a little farther on. Yet he persisted in going to the house of Don Diego, and even went up to his chamber, where he found him on a day-bed under pretence of being unwell. This visit seemed to be expected, as Don Diego had several armed men concealed in a neighbouring room.

Garcias de Alvarado and his followers went into the chamber of Don Diego, to whom Alvarado said; "I hope, my lord, that your indisposition is of little importance. You must rise and shake it off, and you will be the better of some exercise and amusement. Come along with us, and though you eat little, your presence will give pleasure to the company who expect you." Don Diego agreed to go, and called for his cloak, being already armed with his sword and dagger.

While

While the company in the room made way by going out, and Garcias de Alvarado went immediately before Don Diego, Pedro de Onnate and several others who were instructed, shut the door, and seizing on Garcias told him he was their prisoner. Don Diego drew his sword, with which he wounded Garcias, saying that he must be slain, not taken prisoner; and immediately Juan Balsa, Alfonso de Saavedra, Diego Mendez the brother of Rodrigo Orgognez, and several others who were concealed in the next room, rushed out and put Alvarado to death with many wounds.

On the news of this event spreading through the city, it occasioned much dissatisfaction and some appearances of an insurrection which might have had very fatal consequences; but Don Diego went immediately out into the great square, where he succeeded in appeasing the people, and the friends of Alvarado were forced to be quiet. Immediately after this, on purpose to give employment to his troops, and because he heard that Vaca de Castro had joined Holguin and Alonso Alvarado, he marched out from Cuzco, meaning to seek out and give battle to the royalists. His army on this occasion was the most numerous and best appointed that had hitherto been seen in Peru, consisting of 250 horse, 200 musqueteers, and 250 pikemen, many of these being armed with halberts, and all remarkably well provided with defensive armour, especially all his cavalry, who, besides coats of mail, had back and breast-pieces of iron. Besides these, he had a great train of artillery, and was accompanied by Paul, the brother of the Inca who had been raised to the Peruvian throne by the elder Almagro. The assistance of this chief was of great importance to Don Diego on the present occasion, as his Indians always went a considerable way before the army, and obliged the natives of all the districts through which they passed to supply provisions for the troops, and to furnish people for carrying the baggage and other necessary services. In this manner Don Diego proceeded for about fifty leagues to the province of Vilcas, where he learnt that the royal army was only thirty leagues distant from him.

While Vaca de Castro was in Lima, he procured a number of musquets to be made by the workmen of that city, and made every other preparation in his power to strengthen his army. Among other things, as Don Diego had carried off the whole royal treasure, he borrowed a large sum from the inhabitants of Lima, for the pay of his troops and other ex-

pences

pences of the war; and all things being regulated, he set out to join the army with as many men as he could collect, leaving Francisco de Barrionuevo as his lieutenant in Lima, and Juan Perez de Guevara as commandant of his marine. He directed his march for Jauja, leaving orders with the inhabitants of Lima to retire on board the ships, in case Don Diego, as he threatened, should make an attack upon the city. On his arrival at Jauja, where Holguin and the army waited for him, he found that the general had provided good store of arms both offensive and defensive, and particularly a large supply of gunpowder which had been made at that place. The governor incorporated the horsemen whom he brought along with him from Lima among the troops or companies of cavalry already in the army, which were commanded by the Captains Pedro Alvarez Holguin, Pedro Anzurez, and Garcilasso de la Vega, and formed an additional troop of horse of which he gave the command to Gomez de Alvarado. Those foot soldiers which he brought with him were distributed into the companies of Pedro de Vergara and Nunno de Castro, and he formed a new company of musqueteers, of which he appointed the bachelor Juan Velez de Guevara captain. Although a man of letters and educated in the study of the law, Guevara was an excellent soldier, and particularly attentive to discipline, and had even greatly assisted in the construction of the musquets with which his company was armed. Being likewise very learned in the law, he executed a judicial charge at the same time with his military command, both on the present occasion under Vaca de Castro, and during the subsequent troubles produced by Gonzalo Pizarro, as will be afterwards related. Every day till noon, he held his judicial sittings and dispatched such affairs of that kind as occurred, in the ordinary sober dress of a lawyer. After that, he dressed in richly embroidered uniforms, with a buff jerkin, a feather in his hat, and his musquet on his shoulder, exercising his company with much attention, and practised himself in firing.

Having drawn together a well armed force of seven hundred men, 370 of whom were cavalry, 170 musqueteers, and 160 armed with pikes, Vaca de Castro appointed captain Francisco de Carvajal serjeant major [10] of his army; the same

10 The rank of serjeant major in the Spanish service appears to answer to our adjutant, as applied to a battalion: On the present occasion Carvajal

same person who was afterwards maestre de campo general under Gonzalo Pizarro. Carvajal was an officer of great experience, having served above forty years in the army, and was bred in the wars of Italy under *the great captain*, having risen in that service from the ranks to a lieutenancy. By him all the movements of the army were directed.

About this time a message was received by Vaca de Castro from Gonzalo Pizarro, who had just returned to Quito from his disastrous expedition to Los Canelos, formerly related. Gonzalo made offer to the governor to march to his assistance with all the troops he could raise; but de Castro, in answer, after thanking him for his good will, desired him to remain at Quito and on no account to come to the army, as he had hope of bringing Don Diego to terms of accommodation, being only desirous of restoring the country to peace. In this procedure, the governor meant in some measure to mortify the pride of Gonzalo Pizarro; and besides, he feared lest his natural desire of taking revenge for the murder of his brother might prove an invincible obstacle against Don Diego agreeing to any accommodation, who would never venture to submit to any one who was accompanied by Gonzalo Pizarro, whose friends in the royal army were very numerous. Some persons allege that Vaca de Castro was afraid of permitting Gonzalo to join the army, lest they might elect him as their general, as he was greatly beloved by the soldiers. At this time likewise, Vaca de Castro sent orders to those persons who had the charge of the children of the late marquis in San Miguel and Truxillo, to remain with them there till farther orders, and on no account to carry them to Lima; alleging, as a specious pretext, that they were safer there than at Lima.

All his military preparations being completed, Vaca de Castro left Jauja with his army in excellent order, taking the route for Guamanga, as he was informed that Don Diego was in full march to take possession of that city, or to take post at a very important passage of a river in that neighbourhood, which would give great advantage in the future operations of the war to either party which might obtain possession of that post, as Guamanga was surrounded by precipitous rocks and deep vallies, serving as natural fortifications of extremely

Carvajal may be considered as adjutant general under Vaca de Castro. Maestre de Campo seems equivalent to Major-General.—E.

ly difficult access. Captain Diego de Royas, who has been formerly mentioned as commanding the advanced guard of the royal army, had already occupied the city of Guamanga; and on receiving intelligence of the rapid march of Don Diego to that place, had fortified himself there as strongly as possible, that he might be able to defend it till the arrival of the army under Vaca de Castro. The governor, therefore, marched with as much celerity as possible, sending on Captain de Castro with his company of musqueteers to take post on a craggy hill of difficult ascent near Guamanga, called *Farcu* by the Peruvians and Parcos by the Spaniards. Vaca de Castro, on his arrival one evening within two leagues of Guamanga, received information that Don Diego was already in possession of that city, which disappointed him greatly, more especially as the whole of his own troops were not yet come up. Alonso de Alvarado was sent back therefore, to expedite their march, and to bring them on in good order, as the enemy was so near. Some of the rear-guard of the army marched that day above five long leagues, which was a most fatiguing exertion, as the road was full of rocks and steep passes, and they were under the necessity of carrying their arms and accoutrements. Having passed the city, the whole army stood to their arms all night, not having any accurate intelligence of the enemy, who was believed to be nigh. Next day, however, learning by their scouts, who had been above six leagues in advance, that the enemy was still at a considerable distance, the royalists encamped to take some rest.

Receiving more certain information of the situation of the enemy, who were still at the distance of nine leagues from his camp, Vaca de Castro sent a letter to Don Diego by Francisco Ydiaquez, commanding him in his majesty's name to dismiss his army, and to repair to the royal standard, on doing which he should be pardoned for all that was past: But, if he refused, he might expect to be proceeded against with the utmost severity, as a rebel against the king. The governor sent likewise a private soldier who was well acquainted with the country, diguised as an Indian, carrying letters for several gentlemen in the rebel army, offering them an amnesty and large rewards if they would abandon Don Diego. Though this man took every precaution to prevent discovery, his track was noticed in some places in the snow, and he was followed and carried prisoner to Don Diego, who ordered

him

him to be hanged. Don Diego complained loudly of Vaca de Castro for sending spies to corrupt his followers while making offers of accommodation; and drawing out his army in complete order before the governors messengers, he ordered all his officers to prepare for battle, promising that whoever killed any of the hostile inhabitants of the country, should be rewarded with the wife, lands, Indians, and wealth of the slain. He then gave an answer to the governors message, that he would never acknowledge or obey him so long as he was associated with his enemies, Pedro Alvarez Holguin, Alonso de Alvarado, Gomez de Tordoya, Juan de Saavedra, Garcilasso de la Vega, Yllen Suarez de Carvajal, Gomez de Alvarado, and others of that party. That he would never disband his army, unless he received a formal amnesty under the royal sign manual; as he could not give faith to one signed by the Cardinal de Loaysa. That de Castro was much mistaken in supposing any of his army would abandon him, and might therefore prepare for battle, as he was determined to defend the country to his last breath."

On receiving this resolute answer, Vaca de Castro marched his army to a small distance from Guamanga, where the ground was too rough and uneven for his cavalry, and took up a position in a smooth plain named *Chupaz*, where he remained three days, during all which time it never ceased raining, as it was then the middle of winter, yet the troops were forced to be always under arms and ready for action, as the enemy was very near. He had resolved to give battle, as the enemy obstinately refused all accommodation; yet finding that several persons in his army seemed to hesitate on account of the disapprobation which his majesty had evinced respecting the former battle of *Salinas*, on which account Ferdinand Pizarro was detained in prison, he judged it proper to take some formal judicial steps, both for his own justification, and to satisfy the scruples of his troops. He pronounced therefore a formal sentence against Don Diego, whom he declared a traitor and rebel, condemning him and all his adherents to death and the confiscation of all their goods. After signing this judicial sentence in the presence of the whole army, he commanded the officers to give him asistance for carrying it into execution.

Next mroning, being Saturday, the scouts brought intelligence after mass that the enemy, who had encamped for the night at two short leagues distance, was very near, and in

full march towards the left of the royalist camp, advancing by some low hills to avoid a marsh which covered the front of the royalists. Don Diego wished to gain possession of Guamanga before giving battle, and entertained no doubt of being victorious, trusting to his great superiority in artillery over the royalist army. When the two armies were so near that the advanced guards were within musket shot, the governor detached Captain Castro with fifty musqueteers to skirmish with the enemy, while the rest of his troops marched up the slope of a hill on purpose to intercept the march of the rebels. This movement was liable to considerable danger, as Don Diego might have done the royalists much damage by means of his artillery if he had taken advantage of the nature of the ground in proper time; for during this conversion, the royalist infantry were often obliged to halt to recover their order, which was much deranged by the difficulty of the ground. When Carvajal the serjeant-major observed this circumstance, he ordered all the troops to gain the height as quickly as possible without preserving any precise order of march, and to form again when they were arrived at the summit. They accordingly got all up, while Captain Castro and his musqueteers were skirmishing with the troops of Don Diego; who likewise continued his march, and drew up in order of battle.

After the royal army had been marshalled in good order by the serjeant-major, the governor made them a speech, in which he exhorted them to recollect that they were loyal Spaniards who were fighting in the just cause of their sovereign. He told them that the fate of Peru was now in their hands and depended on their courage. If defeated he and they could only expect to be put to death; but if victorious, besides the important service to the king, which they were bound as good and loyal subjects to perform, they would thereby secure the possession of their estates and effects, and to such as had none he would provide amply in the name and by the authority of his majesty, who only desired to preserve the sovereignty of Peru, that he might divide it among those who served him faithfully. In conclusion, he said there needed not a long harangue to encourage gentlemen of honour and brave soldiers to do their duty, whose example he proposed to himself to follow, not pretending to give them one; yet, as a proof that he meant to imitate their bravery, he intended to march at their head and should be among the first to break

break a lance. They all declared that they would do their duty manfully, and would rather be cut to pieces than allow themselves to be defeated, as they all considered themselves interested in the success of the war on their own accounts, as well as from duty to the king. All the officers earnestly intreated Vaca de Castro not to hazard himself in the front of battle, insisting that he should take post in the rear with thirty horsemen, whence he might send succour to wherever it might be needed. He consented to this, and as the day drew towards a close, being within an hour and a half of sunset, he proposed to postpone the battle till next morning. But Alonso de Alvarado assured him that he would be defeated if he delayed, as the whole army seemed then animated by the best resolution, and it was impossible to say whether some might not change their sentiments during the night. The governor assented to this advice, only saying that he wished to have the power which had been given to Joshua, that he might stop the going down of the sun.

At this time the artillery belonging to Don Diego opened its fire upon the royalists; and as it was dangerous to descend the hill in front towards the enemy, on account of being too much exposed in that direction to their guns, the serjeant-major and Alonso Alvarado directed the army to move by the left, where there was a hollow which led towards the enemy, by which they were protected from the balls which all flew over their heads. The troops marched in the following order. Alonzo de Alvarado was on the right with his troops of horse, having the royal standard carried by Christoval de Barientos; on the left were the other four captains of horse, Pedro Holguin, Gomes Alvarado, Garcilasso de la Vega, and Pedro Anzurez, all at the head of their respective troops in excellent order. Between the two wings of cavalry, the Captains Pedro de Vergara and Juan Velez de Guevara marched with the infantry; and Nunno de Castro marched in front with his musqueteers to begin the battle, with orders to retire when pressed by the enemy under the protection of the main body. The governor, at the earnest entreaty of his officers, remained in the rear guard at the head of thirty horse, at some short distance from the main body, where he could see all that occurred, so as to send assistance where it was wanted, which he did with much judgment.

During the advance of the royalists, the enemy kept up a constant fire of their artillery, but altogether ineffectually, as all

all their balls flew too high. Don Diego observing this circumstance, suspected that Pedro de Candia the captain of his artillery was gained by the enemy and did this on purpose; for which reason he went to him in great rage and killed him with his own hand. After this he pointed and fired off one of the cannon against a squadron of the royalists, by which shot several of the troopers were killed. Seeing this, and considering that the artillery of the royal army was too insignificant to do much service, Carvajal determined to leave it behind that the army might advance more quickly. At this time Don Diego and his officers had arranged their army in order, the cavalry divided on the two wings, and the infantry in the centre, having their cannon in front, directly over against the only ground by which the royalists could advance to the attack. The rebels believed it would argue timidity in them thus to wait for the enemy, and that it was proper for them to advance and meet them half way. This movement was much against the opinion and advice of Pedro Suarez, serjeant-major to Don Diego, a brave and experienced officer; who remonstrated that, as the enemy had to advance over a plain of considerable extent, they would be greatly injured by the artillery before they could come to the charge, whereas by advancing the troops of Don Diego would shorten this dangerous way for their enemies, and would lose an excellent advantage now in their power. Nothwithstanding this judicious remonstrance the Almagrian army continued to advance, and took post near a rising ground over which the royalists had to march, and after which the rebel artillery could do them very little harm, and was unable to prevent them from charging, as the way between was very short. Suarez was so much dissatisfied at his advice being thus despised, that he set spurs to his horse and galloped over to the royalist army.

About this time the Indians under the command of Paullu the brother of Inca Manco Capac, attacked the left wing of the royalists with repeated vollies of stones and arrows, but were soon put to flight by a few discharges from the musqueteers. Martin Cote who commanded a company of musqueteers on the side of Almagro, advanced to that side and began to skirmish with the adverse musqueteers of Nunno de Castro. At this time the royalists, advancing slowly and in good order to the music of their drums and trumpets, made their appearance on the height, where they halted as waiting an oppor-

tunity

tunity to charge, in hopes that the incessant discharge from the artillery of the enemy might relax. Although now so near, the rebel artillery did them very little harm, as having to point upwards, most of their balls flew too high, whereas if the royalists had advanced only twenty paces farther, they would have been exposed to point blank shot. The infantry indeed of the royalists suffered materially at this time, as they were more directly exposed to the shot, insomuch that by one ball a whole file of seventeen men was brought down. This made a wide gap in the battalion, which the officers took care immediately to fill up. The serjeant-major, Francisco de Carvajal, still held back the royalist cavalry from the charge, waiting for some relaxation in the fury of the adverse artillery, by which the captains Pedro Alvarez Holguin and Gomez de Tordoya were both slain, and several others were killed and wounded by every discharge. Captain Pedro de Vergara being wounded by a musket shot, exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the cavalry, saying that all the infantry would be speedily destroyed if the cavalry did not charge the enemy. The trumpets immediately sounded a charge, and the royalist squadrons advanced, on which those of Don Diego moved forward to meet them courageously. The shock was so violent that almost all the lances on both sides were broken, and many horsemen of both armies were borne to the ground, some killed and others wounded. A bloody engagement succeeded this charge, in which they fought man to man with swords, maces and battle axes; some even of the cavalry being armed with large woodmens axes which they wielded in both hands, gave such heavy blows as no armour could withstand. After continuing the battle with great fury till both sides were out of breath, they drew off for a little.

In the meantime the royalist infantry advanced against those of Don Diego, encouraged by the exhortations and example of Carvajal who marched at their head. "Be not afraid, said he, of the artillery: I, who am as large as any two of you, do not fear it, and you all see how many bullets pass by without hurting me." That his soldiers might not conceive that he confided in the goodness of his armour, he threw away his coat of mail and helmet, and advanced in this manner to the rebel cannon; and being bravely seconded by his men, he soon got possession of them all, killing several of those who guarded them, after which he turned them against the enemy. By this vigorous and successful exploit,

the event of the battle was in a great measure decided. The day was now ended, and the evening became so dark that the opponents could hardly distinguish each other except by the voice. After a short rest, the cavalry renewed the fight, and victory began to lean to the side of the royalists, when Vaca de Castro made a furious assault on the left of the enemy, where two troops belonging to Don Diego still kept their ground, while all the rest began to fall back. On charging the enemy, the governor exclaimed, *Vittoria! Vittoria!* Yet the battle continued undecided for some time, and several of the horsemen who followed Vaca de Castro were wounded and unhorsed, two gentlemen and several others being slain. The rebels were at last thrown into disorder and fled from the field, being pursued for some distance. Two of their officers, named Bilboa and de Sosa, were so enraged on seeing the defeat and flight of their companions, that they rushed like madmen into the thickest of the enemy, crying out *I am he who killed the marquis*, till both were slain. Many of the Almagrians saved themselves by favour of the darkness; and some of them, for greater security, threw away their *white* scarfs, by which the rebels were distinguished, and put on the *red* scarfs of the royalists who lay dead on the field. Thus Vaca de Castro obtained a complete victory, although before the charge was given his army lost many more men than the enemy, insomuch that Don Diego thought himself till then secure of conquering. Such of the fugitives as endeavoured to save themselves by way of the plain were all killed by the Indians; and a hundred and fifty horse, who made their escape to Guamanga, about two leagues from the field of battle, were disarmed and made prisoners by the small number of inhabitants who remained in that city. Don Diego fled to Cuzco, where Rodrigo de Salazar, his own lieutenant, and Antonio Ruyz de Guevara, one of the magistrates made him prisoner. Thus ended the authority of Don Diego Almagro, who one day was lord and master of the great kingdom of Peru, and the next day was thrown into prison by officers of his own appointment. This decisive battle of Chupaz was fought on the 16th September 1542.

A great part of the night was over before their officers could reassemble the victorious army, as the soldiers were busied in pillaging the tents of the rebels, where they got a rich plunder in silver and gold, and killed several of the wounded fugitives who were unable to continue their flight

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any farther. When all were reassembled, Vaca de Castro made the army remain all the rest of the night under arms and in order of battle, lest the enemy might rally and renew the fight. Vaca de Castro employed himself likewise during most part of the night in going about among the troops, praising the whole in general, and thanking the individual soldiers for having so bravely done their duty. In this battle several officers and soldiers on both sides signalized themselves remarkably. Don Diego distinguished himself particularly, shewing much courage, and more conduct than could have been expected from a young man only twenty-two years of age[11]. He was animated by what he considered a just vengeance for the death of his father; and was well seconded by many of his followers. Many of those on the side of Vaca de Castro, were on the contrary incited by the desire of avenging the death of the marquis, for whose memory they preserved an inviolable attachment, insomuch that no danger could prevent them from using their utmost efforts to punish his murderers. On the two sides, about 300 men were slain[12], among whom were several officers and men of note. Pedro Alvarez Holguin and Gomez de Tordoya eminently distinguished themselves on the side of the royalists, having mantles of white velvet richly embroidered over their armour, owing to which they were particularly marked out by the musqueteers of the enemy, and both lost their lives in consequence. Alonso de Alvarado and Carvajal likewise distinguished themselves signally, particularly the latter, as already mentioned, in a manner that it seemed almost impossible he should have escaped. But by despising death, he appeared to have made it flee from him; as indeed it often happens during great dangers, that those who meet them bravely are preserved, while those who shrink are lost. A signal instance of this happened in the present battle, as a young man who was afraid of the balls concealed himself behind a projecting rock; where his head was shattered to pieces by a splinter driven

11 Garcilasso, himself a mestee, says that Don Diego was the bravest Mestizo, or son of a Spaniard by an Indian woman, that ever the New World produced.—E.

12 According to Garcilasso, of 1500 combatants, including both sides, 500 men were slain, and about an equal number wounded; the royalists having 500 killed and 400 wounded, while the rebels had only 200 slain and 100 wounded. In this estimate he has surely made a material error, as he makes the killed and wounded of the royalists equal to the whole number they had in the field.—E.

driven off by a cannon ball[13]. Many others signalized themselves in the battle, to most of whom the governor gave competent estates in lands and Indians, when he made the repartition of the country, adding his warm acknowledgements for having resigned their individual interests and resentments in the service of the crown.

The night after the battle was extremely frosty, and as the baggage was considerably in the rear, only two of the wounded officers had their wounds dressed, so that a good many of the wounded died of cold during the night. Next morning, the governor caused every attention to be given to the wounded, who exceeded four hundred in number[14], and had the dead buried, ordering the bodies of Holguin and Tordoya to be carried to the city of Guamanga, where they were magnificently interred. On the day succeeding the battle, the governor ordered the heads of several prisoners to be cut off, who had been concerned in the murder of the marquis. Next day he went to Guamanga, where Captain Diego de Royas had already beheaded Juan Tello and some other captains of the rebels. The governor now gave orders to the licentiate de la Gama to try the rest of the prisoners, and to punish them according to their deserts. De la Gama accordingly hanged several and beheaded others, to the number of forty of the most culpable, insomuch that in all about sixty were executed. Some others were banished, and the rest were pardoned, such of them as had settlements being allowed to return to their houses.

The governor went afterwards to Cuzco, where he brought Don Diego to trial, and ordered him to be beheaded. Diego de Mendez, Gomez Perez, and another, made their escape from prison into the mountains of the Andes, where they were kindly received by Manco Capac the fugitive Inca, who had taken refuge in an inaccessible country. The Inca was much grieved on learning the death of Don Diego, whom he was greatly attached to, and to whom he had sent several coats of mail, corselets, cuirasses, and other arms, which he had taken from the Spaniards whom he defeated and slew, at the

13 At this place, a naked list of a great number of names, of those who signalized themselves in the battle, are enumerated by Zarate, but omitted here as altogether uninteresting.—E.

14 This appears to countenance the account of Garcilasso in a former note, who probably quoted from Zarate; but the latter does not limit this number to the royal troops.—E.

the time when he went by order of the marquis to relieve Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro, then besieged in Cuzco.

After the death of Don Diego and the entire dispersion of his adherents, by which peace was restored through the whole country, the governor did not consider it proper to disband his army, as he had not sufficient funds to reward them according to their services; for which reason he resolved to send them in different detachments to make discoveries and conquests. Captain Vergara and his troops were accordingly sent back to complete the conquest of the Bracamoras. The Captains Diego de Royas and Philip Gutierez were sent with above three hundred men to the eastwards, where they afterwards made some establishments on the Rio de la Plata. Captain Monroy was sent to Chili with reinforcements to Pedro de Valdivia, who was engaged in reducing that country. Captain Juan Perez de Guevara was sent to reduce the country of Mullobamba which he had discovered. This is an exceedingly mountainous country, in which the two great rivers Marannon and La Plata have their sources, both of which run into the Atlantic. Its inhabitants are Caribs, or canibals, and their country so hot that they go entirely naked, or at least have only a few rags round their loins. While in this country, Juan Perez got notice of an extensive province beyond the mountains towards the north, in which there are rich gold mines, and which has camels and fowls like those of New Spain, and a species of sheep considerably smaller than those of Peru. In that country it is necessary to water all kinds of seeds regularly, as it seldom rains. In it there is a lake, the environs of which are exceedingly populous. In all its rivers there are certain *fishes* as large as dogs, which they likewise very much resemble, which kill and eat the Indians when they go into the water or even pass near it, as they often come out of the water and walk on the dry land[15]. This great country is bounded on the north by the Marannon, on the east by Brasil, and on the south by the Rio de la Plata; and it is said that the Amazons dwell in this country, of whom Orellana received intelligence while descending the Marannon.

Vaca de Castro remained above eighteen months in Cuzco after

15 Obviously a misunderstood description of alligators. Indeed the whole account of this country, now called Colona, seems to have been derived from the reports of Indians, and is in many circumstances entirely fabulous, as is well known from the more recent accounts of the Jesuit missions.—E.

after the departure of these various expeditions, employing himself in making a distribution of the unoccupied lands and Indians, and settling the whole country in good order, issuing likewise many useful regulations for the protection and preservation of the Indians. In that period the richest gold mine ever heard of in our days was discovered near Cuzco in a river named *Carabaya*, where a single Indian is able to gather to the extent of a mark in one day[16]. The whole country being now perfectly tranquil, and the Indians protected from those excessive toils to which they had been subjected during the civil war, Gonzalo Pizarro was permitted to come to Cuzco, and after a few days went thence to Las Charcas, where he employed himself in taking care of the extensive estate which he possessed in that country. He there remained in quiet, till the arrival of the viceroy, Blasco Nunnez Vela in Peru, as shall be related in the sequel.

Section II.

Commencement of the Viceroyalty of Blasco Nunnez Vela, and renewal of the civil war in Peru by the usurpation of Gonzalo Pizarro.

At this period, some of the clergy who had been in the New World, represented to the Emperor Don Carlos and the lords of his council, that the Spaniards treated the natives in the conquered provinces of America with extreme cruelty, depriving them of all their property by excessive exactions, forcing them to labour in the mines and to dive for pearls beyond their strength, obliging them to carry heavy burdens in long journeys, and frequently subjecting them to arbitrary punishments, and even wantonly putting them to death; insomuch that their numbers were fast diminishing, and that in a short time they would be entirely extirpated from Mexico and Peru and the other continental dominions of Spain in America, as was already the case in the islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Jamaica, and others, where hardly any trace remained of the original inhabitants. To confirm these

16 Carabaya is an elevated valley of considerable extent, to the south east of Cuzco. A mark of gold or eight ounces is worth about L. 32; hence we may readily believe so rich a days work was seldom made.—E.

these representations, they particularly recited many instances of cruelty exercised by the Spaniards upon the Indians, among which were numerous circumstances that were by no means well authenticated. They alleged as one of the greatest of these evils, and a principal cause of the destruction of the Indians, that they were forced to carry heavy burdens on long journeys, far beyond their strength, without any consideration of justice or humanity. They added that these tyrannical practices had been carried to the greatest excess by the governors, lieutenants, and other officers of the crown, and by the bishops, monks, and other favoured and privileged persons, trusting to their authority and immunities to be exempted from punishment for their improper conduct, by which they were encouraged to the commission of every excess. He who insisted in these remonstrances with the greatest zeal and perseverance was Fra Bartholomew de las Casas, a Dominican monk, whom his majesty had raised to the bishopric of Chiapa.

After maturely considering these representations, his majesty was anxious to devise proper means to relieve the Indians from oppression; and for this purpose he assembled a council of all those persons to whom the administration of affairs in the Indies was confided, with several other persons of probity learned in the laws. By this assembly the whole affair was deliberately examined, and a code of regulations drawn up by which it was expected to remedy the abuses complained of. By these regulations it was enacted that no Indian should be forced to labour in the mines, or to dive for pearls; that no excessive labours should be imposed on them, and even that they should not be obliged to carry burdens except in places where no other means could be employed; that all Indians should be paid for their labour, and that the tribute which they were to pay to their masters should be fixed; that upon the death of any person to whom lands and Indians now belonged, they were to revert to the crown. Besides, that all lands and Indians belonging to bishops, monasteries, and hospitals, or to governors, lieutenant-governors, or other officers of the crown, should be taken from them and annexed to the crown, even although the possessor should incline to demit their offices for the purpose of enabling them to retain their repartitions. It was particularly ordered in regard to Peru, that all who had taken any share in the civil wars between the marquis and Almagro should forfeit their lands and Indians. And finally,

ally, all Indians set at liberty by this regulation were to belong in perpetuity to the crown, to whom their tributes were to be paid in all time coming.

It is perfectly obvious, in consequence of the concluding clause but one of these regulations, by which all who had taken any share in the late civil wars were to be deprived of their lands and Indians, that every individual then in Peru would have been reduced to poverty, as it may be seen by every circumstance related in the foregoing part of this history, that every Spaniard in the country had embraced one or other of these parties with extreme violence. Even the native Peruvians had taken a part in the civil discords, and had frequent quarrels and engagements on the subject, some of them taking part with the *Chilese*, and others with the *Pachacamacs*, by which titles they distinguished respectively the adherents of Almagro and of the marquis. Hitherto the only court of justice or royal audience was held at Panama, at a most inconvenient distance from Peru. By the new regulations this court of Panama was abolished, and besides the establishment of a new court on the frontiers of Gauatimala and Nicaragua for all the provinces from Tierra Firma northwards, of which the licentiate Maldonado was made president, another court of royal audience was ordered to be established in Lima, consisting of four oydors or judges, and a president who was to have the title of Viceroy and captain general. This measure was deemed indispensibly necessary for the well being of this distant country, the richest and most valuable dominion which belonged to the crown in all America. All these regulations were enacted and published at Madrid in 1542, and copies of them were immediately sent to different parts of the New World. These new reglations gave extreme dissatisfaction to the conquerors of the American provinces, and particularly to those of Peru; as every Spanish settler in that country must have been deprived by them of almost every thing they possessed, and reduced to the necessity of looking out for new means of subsistence. Every one loudly declared that his majesty must have received erroneous information respecting the late events, as the partizans and adherents both of the marquis and of Almagro, had conducted themselves to the best of their judgment as faithful subjects of his majesty, believing that they acted in obedience to his orders in what respected the two rival governors, who acted in his name and by his authority, and were

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besides under the necessity of obeying their officers, either by force or good will, so that they were in fact guilty of no crime in what they had done; or, even if their conduct were in some measure faulty, they certainly did not deserve to be stript entirely of their property. They alleged farther, that when they discovered and conquered the country, which had been done at their own proper cost, it had been expressly covenanted that they were to enjoy the division of the lands and Indians among them for their lives, with remainder to their eldest sons, or to their widows in case of having no children; and that, in confirmation of all this, an order had been issued by his majesty, by which all who had participated in making the conquest of Peru were to marry within a certain specified time, under the penalty of losing their lands and Indians, with which regulation most of them had complied; and that it were now unjust, when they had become old and worn out, and were encumbered with wives and families, to deprive them of their substance, when they looked to enjoy repose after all their fatigues and dangers; being unable from age and infirmity to go in search of new countries and new establishments.

Great numbers of persons repaired to Cuzco, where Vaca de Castro then resided, to lay their complaints before him. He told them, that he was persuaded his majesty would remedy their grievances when informed of the true state of affairs, and recommended therefore that the procurators or syndics of the different cities should assemble, and elect a deputation to carry a true statement of matters to the king and royal council of the Indies, with a humble supplication that his majesty might apply a proper remedy, by the revocation or modification of those regulations, which, as they stood, would produce such ruinous consequences to the colony. On purpose to facilitate this assembly, the governor promised to repair in person to Lima, as the most convenient and most central situation for the deputies of all the other cities. He accordingly set out from Cuzco for Lima, accompanied by the syndics of all the neighbouring cities, and by several gentlemen and other persons of consequence.

In the year 1542, while these things were going on in Peru, his majesty appointed Blasco Nunnez Vela, who had been commissary general of the revenue in Castille, as Viceroy of Peru, and president of the court of royal audience, to carry those regulations into effect which we have already given an

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account of. Vela was chosen to this high and important office as a person of capacity and experience, who would dispense strict justice without respect of persons, and would punctually fulfil the royal orders. The four oydors or judges nominated to the royal audience of Lima were the licentiate Cepeda, doctor Lison de Texada, and the licentiates Alvarez and Pedro Ortiz. Augustin de Zarate [17], secretary of the royal council of Castille, was appointed at the same time auditor general of accounts both for Peru and the Tierra Firma, as since the discovery and settlement of these provinces, no accounts of the royal revenues had ever been rendered to the treasurers. All these persons embarked at San Lucar de Barrameda on the 1st November 1543, and arrived safe at the harbour of Nombre de Dios, where they made some stay, on purpose to prepare for their voyage to Peru. As the viceroy was eager to proceed, he embarked at Panama in the middle of February 1543, without waiting for the judges of the royal audience, who anxiously requested to accompany him, and who were accordingly much chagrined by this procedure. Even before this, some slight disputes had occurred between them and Vela, which though of small importance in themselves, had left some impression of mutual dissatisfaction, and evinced that they were not likely to agree in the government of the country.

Before leaving the Tierra Firma, the viceroy began to carry one of the new regulations into effect, by which all Indians were enjoined to be at liberty to return to their native countries, whatever might have been the cause of their transportation to other places. He accordingly collected all the natives of Peru who happened to be in the province of Tierra Firma; and as there was a great and constant intercourse between that province and Peru, the number of Peruvians in Tierra Firma was considerable, and he ordered all of these to embark in the same ship with himself at the expence of their masters. The new viceroy had a quick passage from Panama to the port of Tumbez at the northern extremity of proper Peru, where he disembarked on the 4th of March, being resolved to go from thence by land to Lima, and immediately proceeded to enforce the new regulations in every one of the places by which he travelled. In regard to some of the colonists, he fixed the services and tributes which they were in future to exact

17 The author of this history.—E.

exact from the Indians; and others he deprived entirely of their lands and Indians, annexing them to the crown. Many of those who found themselves aggrieved by these regulations, particularly all the inhabitants of San Miguel and Truxillo, waited on the viceroy, respectfully yet earnestly entreating that he would at least postpone the execution of those rigorous decrees till the arrival of the judges, when they would make their humble application for justice at Lima in the royal court of audience. In corroboration of this request, they pointed out one of the articles of the regulations, which directed that they were to be put in force by the viceroy and oydors conjunctly, and that therefore he was not authorised to execute them by his single authority. All their remonstrances and reasonings were unavailing, as he refused to listen to them, saying, that the orders with which he was entrusted were general laws, which could not be suspended or even postponed in compliance with any requests or supplications whatever. He persisted, therefore, to put the regulations strictly in force, through the whole extent of his journey from Tumbez till his arrival in the province of Guavara [1], which is eighteen leagues from Lima.

Immediately on his arrival at Tumbez, the viceroy sent an express to notify his arrival and the extent of his powers and authority to the governor Vaca de Castro, whom he directed to discontinue all exercise of authority as governor. By this messenger, and by other persons who followed him, the inhabitants of Lima were informed of the rigorous manner in which the viceroy had proceeded to enforce the new regulations, and of his refusal to listen to any supplications or remonstrances on the subject. On purpose still more to irritate every one against the viceroy, reports were spread of several other rigorous proceedings as having been exercised by him, of which he never even conceived the idea. These news caused much emotion and discontent among the persons who accompanied Vaca de Castro, insomuch that several of them urged him to refuse recognizing the viceroy, and to protest both against the regulations and his commission, as he had rendered himself unworthy of the government by executing his commission with extreme rigour, refusing justice to his majestys

1 About that distance to the north of Lima is the town of *Huaura*, which is probably the place indicated in the text, as in many names of places in Peru the initial syllable *Gua* or *Hua*, are interchangeably used by different authors.—E.

majestys faithful subjects, and turning a deaf ear to their respectful remonstrances. Vaca de Castro soothed them as much as possible, by assuring them that when the oydors were arrived and had begun to act as the royal court of audience, they would certainly listen to their remonstrances on being instructed in the true state of the country; but that for himself, he could in no degree consent to disobey the orders of his majesty. At this time, Vaca de Castro had arrived at Guarachiri, about twenty leagues from Lima, and on receiving the orders which had been transmitted to him by the viceroy, he immediately divested himself of his office, and discontinued from exercising any of the functions of government; except that he granted some vacant repartitions of lands and Indians to different people, some of which grants were in his own name.

Finding all their representations to Vaca de Castro ineffectual, the principal persons who attended him set out in their return to Cuzco, under pretence that they dared not to await the arrival of the viceroy so long as he was alone; but that they would return to Lima on the arrival of the judges: Yet, in spite of these specious pretexts, it was easy to see that they were much discontented and had evil intentions. Indeed they clearly evinced this soon afterwards on their arrival at the city of Guamanga, where they excited a great tumult, and took possession of all the artillery which Vaca de Castro had disposed in that place after his victory over Don Diego. They then collected a great number of Indians, and caused the whole of this train of artillery to be removed to Cuzco.

Vaca de Castro continued his journey from Guarachiri to Lima, which he found all involved in confusion and discontent, the inhabitants being much divided in opinion as to the expediency of receiving the viceroy or refusing to recognize him in that capacity. Some alleged that the orders of his majesty did not command his recognition till his actual arrival. Others said that he ought not to be recognized even on his arrival, considering the unjust regulations which he brought along with him, and the rigour with which he put them in force, in spite of every remonstrance and supplication to the contrary. But by the earnest exhortations of Yllan Suarez, *alcalde* or judge of police and royal commissary of Lima, they came at length to the resolution of receiving the viceroy, and even to admit the regulations, which were published with much solemnity. Upon this all the magistrates,

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and principal inhabitants of the city, went to Huaura to welcome the viceroy and to pay him their respectful compliments. From Huaura he was accompanied by the whole cavalcade to Lima, where he was received with great pomp and magnificence, making his entry under a canopy of cloth of gold. All the magistrates walked in procession, carrying the ensigns of their office, and dressed in long robes of crimson satin turned up with white damask. In this grand stile, the viceroy was conducted in the first place to church, and thence to his palace.

Next day as the viceroy had received information of the discontents and seditious conduct of the persons who had retired to Cuzco, he ordered Vaca de Castro to be arrested and thrown into the common prison, as he suspected that he had fomented these seditious practices, and that he had even been their secret adviser to that step. Although the inhabitants of Lima were by no means perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Vaca de Castro, they yet humbly petitioned the viceroy, not to allow a person of such high rank, who was a member of the royal council and had been governor of the country, to be thrown into the common prison; as, even if he merited the punishment of death, and were to be beheaded next day, he ought to be more honourably dealt with. The viceroy was softened by these remonstrances, and ordered Vaca de Castro to be placed under arrest in the palace, taking a bail bond from the burgesses for his safe custody under a heavy penalty; and besides, he placed all the effects of the late governor under sequestration. The inhabitants of Lima were extremely discontented by the harsh conduct of the viceroy, holding frequent secret conferences among themselves, and a considerable number of them withdrew gradually from the city, repairing to Cuzco, at which place the viceroy was not acknowledged.

At this time Gonzalo Pizarro dwelt at Chuquisaca de la Plata, in the province of las Charcas, employed in the arrangement of the estate which had been conferred upon him by his brother the marquis, where ten or twelve of his most intimate friends resided along with him. On learning the arrival of the viceroy, the causes of his mission, and the regulations which he had brought out for the government of the colony, and which he rigorously enforced, Gonzalo took the resolution of going to Cuzco, under pretence of inquiring after news from Spain, and to regulate the affairs be-

longing to his brother Ferdinand, according to the instructions he had received on that subject. While employed in collecting money for his journey, he received letters from all parts of Peru, written both by private persons and the magistrates of the cities and towns, endeavouring to persuade him to stand forwards in defence of the common interests on the present emergency, by protesting against the execution of the royal ordinances, and demanding either that their execution should be delayed, or that some other remedy should be interposed to prevent universal ruin among the colonists. Gonzalo was even urged to this interference, as a person to whom the government of the country belonged of right, as heir to the marquis his brother. In some of these letters the writers offered to devote themselves and their fortunes to his service: Others informed him that the viceroy had publickly declared he would put Gonzalo to death. In this way every means was used to irritate Gonzalo, that he might come to Cuzco to prevent the entry of the viceroy into that city. As every thing seemed to conspire towards the accomplishment of the desire which he had always cherished, of acquiring the government of Peru, he gathered a large sum of money, both from his own funds and those belonging to his brother Ferdinand, and repaired to Cuzco accompanied by a retinue of twenty Spaniards [2].

The whole Spanish population of the city went out to meet him, and received him with every demonstration of joy. Every day additional persons flocked to Cuzco, withdrawing from Lima in consequence of the rigorous conduct of the viceroy, who continually irritated the inhabitants by his tyranny. Numerous meetings were held in the town-house of Cuzco, both of the magistrates and the citizens in general, to consult as to what ought to be their conduct in the event of the viceroy arriving at their city. Some proposed that he ought to be received, and that a deputation should be sent to his majesty, praying him to give relief in respect to the regulations, which would ruin the colony unless changed or considerably modified. Others alleged, if the viceroy were received, that he was so determined on the establishment of the regulations in their entire rigour, that he would instantly deprive

2 Zarate is exceedingly negligent in regard to dates. We learn from the history of America, II. 370, that the present occurrences took place in 1544.—E.

prive them of all their Indians; and that, whatever alteration might be afterwards made, it would be exceedingly difficult to recover them. It was at length resolved to elect Gonzalo Pizarro procurator-general, and Diego Centeno, who had been sent to represent the city of la Plata, was appointed his deputy. Gonzalo was authorised, in the exercise of this new office, to lay the remonstrances of the Spanish inhabitants of Peru, in regard to the new regulations, before the royal Court of Audience; and at first considerable difference of sentiment took place in the councils of the remonstrants, as to the mode in which he should proceed to Lima: whether he should be accompanied by a body of troops for his defence in case of need, or should go there merely as a peaceful messenger. At last the former alternative was resolved on, and for the following reasons, in excuse for taking up arms against the viceroy. First, that the viceroy had beat up for volunteers at Lima, under pretence of chastising those who had taken possession of the artillery. Secondly, that the viceroy conducted himself with the most inflexible rigour in carrying the regulations into effect, without listening to the supplications and remonstrances which had been presented to him, and without waiting for the arrival of the judges of the royal audience, to whom, not less than to himself, the authority had been confided for enforcing or suspending the execution of the regulations. Lastly, because the viceroy had been several times heard to declare that he would put Gonzalo to death, on account of his participation in the late civil war, and in the death of Don Diego. Some of the remonstrants were disposed to place this measure, of escorting the procurator general by an armed force, upon a more moderate pretext, alleging that it was necessary for him to travel through a part of the country, in his way to Lima, where the Inca was in arms, and that it was proper in consequence that Gonzalo should be enabled to defend himself from the hostility of the natives. Others talked more openly, saying that the viceroy was a person of an obstinate and inflexible disposition, who did not confine himself within the bounds of justice and equity, and against whom it was necessary to have some other protection than that of the law. Some able persons among them endeavoured to place their present conduct in a favourable light, by drawing up a kind of manifesto, in which they endeavoured to demonstrate, that there was nothing in their present conduct which could be considered as derogatory to

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the respect which was due to the royal authority, as justice allowed every one to repel force by force, and to defend themselves against unjust oppression, even resisting by violence a judge who acts unlawfully, and against the essential forms of law and justice.

It was finally determined therefore, that Gonzalo should raise a body of troops, and for this purpose many of the inhabitants of Cuzco offered their persons and properties, declaring themselves ready to hazard their lives in defence of the common cause. Besides the title of Procurator-general of Peru, for the purpose of presenting the supplications and remonstrances of the colonists, Gonzalo was appointed general of the army which was to defend him against the Inca. As is usual in such matters, these resolutions were all extended with much formality, to give a colour of regularity to their proceedings. The remonstrants then proceeded to levy an army, for the payment of which they took possession of the royal treasure, and availed themselves of the property belonging to deceased colonists and some other funds, under pretence of a loan. After this captain Francisco de Almendras was detached with some troops to take possession of the defiles of the mountains, on purpose to prevent any intelligence of their proceedings being conveyed to Lima. In this measure, they were aided by Paullu, brother to the Inca, who guarded all the passes on his side by means of his Peruvians, to prevent any one from carrying intelligence to the low country.

The Cabildo or council of Cuzco sent letters to the Cabildo of la Plata, representing the prodigous injuries which would accrue to all the colonists from the execution of the obnoxious regulations, informing them of the measures which they had resolved upon for averting the ruin of the colony, and requiring them to approve of and concur in these measures, to which in fact they were already parties, since captain Diego Centeno, their deputy, had already consented to them in their name and behalf. They therefore required their concurrence and assistance, and requested them to repair immediately to Cuzco with their arms and horses. Gonzalo wrote by the same conveyance to all the inhabitants of La Plata, soliciting their individual concurrence and aid. At this time, Luis de Ribera acted in the city of La Plata as lieutenant to Vaca de Castro, the former governor, and Antonio Alvarez, another inhabitant of the same place, held the office of judge ordinary. These men, on hearing of the transactions which had taken place at Cuzco immediately revoked the commission which had been given

to Centeno as deputy from their city, and sent an answer to the regency of Cuzco in the name of the whole cabildo of La Plata declaring that they were resolved to obey the orders of his majesty, although it should cost them their lives and properties: That their city had always preserved its loyalty against all who had acted against the royal authority, and they were resolved to persist in the same line of conduct: That Centeno had only been authorised to concur in their name to such measures as might appear conducive to the service of his majesty, the advantage of his dominions, and the preservation of the natives of the country; and since, in the election of Gonzalo, and the other measures which had been resolved upon at Cuzco, they saw no tendency towards those things which had been confided to Centeno, they could not be implicated in the consent which Centeno had given beyond his legitimate powers, nor were they to be considered as bound to ratify what he had done in their name, as every thing which had been done was contrary to the orders and instructions which they had given him.

This letter did not contain the universal sentiments of the citizens of La Plata, in which Gonzalo had several friends, who used their endeavours to gain over the inhabitants to his side, and to engage them to join his army. They even endeavoured more than once to kill Ribera and Alvarez, but these officers used such precautions as to baffle all their attempts. Ribera and Alvarez waited patiently for receiving the regulations from the viceroy; but owing to the great distance of their city from Lima, these had not yet reached them. In the mean time, they commanded all the inhabitants, under severe penalties, to remain in La Plata; yet several of them left the city and joined the remonstrants at Cuzco.

The viceroy made his entry with great pomp, in the month of May 1544, into Lima, where no one dared to speak to him on the subject of suspending the obnoxious regulations. The magistrates, indeed, had already made their respectful remonstrances and supplications, alleging substantial reasons why they ought to be suspended, but all in vain. He engaged indeed, after the regulations should have been carried into effect, that he would write to his majesty, representing that it was for the interest of the crown, as well as for the advantage of the natives of the country, that they should be revoked; and that those who had drawn them up were certainly ignorant of the true state of the country, or they could never

never have advised the king to establish them. He acknowledged that the regulations were prejudicial to the royal interest and the good of the country; and he recommended that deputies should be sent to him from all parts of Peru, in conjunction with whom he would write to the king what might be proper on the subject; and that doubtless he would then receive orders calculated to remedy the apprehended evils: But that he could not of his own authority suspend the execution of the ordinances, and must continue to act as he had already done, as his orders left him no choice but absolute obedience to the royal instructions.

At this time three of the judges of the court of audience, Cepeda Alvarez and Texada, arrived at Lima, leaving Ortiz, the other judge, sick at Truxillo. The viceroy issued immediate orders for the inauguration of the royal Court of Audience; for which purpose all the necessary preparations were made for the solemn reception of the royal seal, as usual on the first establishment of this high tribunal. The seal was placed in a rich casket, carried by a horse superbly caparisoned and covered by housings of cloth of gold, and led under a canopy of the same splendid materials, held up by the magistrates of the city dressed in flowing robes of crimson velvet, in the same ceremony as is used in Spain on the entry of the king in person into any of the cities. On this occasion, Juan de Leon led the horse, being appointed to officiate as chancellor, in the place of the Marquis de Camarasa, president of Cazorla, who then held the seals in Spain. After this procession, the court of audience was installed, and proceeded immediately to business; but a subject of dispute soon arose between the viceroy and the judges, which renewed the dissentions which had arisen between them even before their arrival in Peru, the explanation of which requires some detail.

When the viceroy arrived at the *Tambo* or palace of Guavra [3], where he waited till he was sure of being received at Lima, he found written on one of the walls of the *tambo* to the following effect: "Whoever may endeavour to deprive me of my house and property, I shall endeavour to deprive of life." He dissimulated his displeasure at these words for some time; but being afterwards persuaded that these words had been

3 It has been already mentioned in a former note, that this is probably a different orthography for Huaura, a place about 70 miles to the N. N. W. of Lima.--E.

been written by Antonio de Solar, to whom the district of Guavra belonged, and who he believed was not well inclined towards him, because he had found the tambo entirely deserted on his arrival, he sent for Solar a few days after his reception at Lima. In a private conference, he spoke to Solar concerning these words which he had seen on the walls of the tambo, and reproached him likewise for having spoken to him personally with much insolence: Then, ordering the gates of the palace to be shut, the viceroy sent for one of his chaplains to confess Solar, declaring his resolution to have him immediately hanged from one of the pillars of a gallery fronting the great square of Lima. Solar refused to confess himself, and the dispute continued so long that news of what was going forwards spread over the city, on which the archbishop and some other persons of quality came to the palace and humbly requested the viceroy to defer the execution. At first he obstinately persisted in his intention; but at last consented to postpone the execution till next day, and sent Solar to prison loaded with fetters. On the morrow, the anger of the viceroy was somewhat appeased, so that he did not renew his orders for hanging Solar, but detained him for two months in prison and in irons, without any information or process respecting his crime.

After the installation of the court of audience, the judges went on a Saturday to visit the prison; and having been informed of the foregoing circumstances by a judicial note or request presented to them on the subject, they demanded to see Solar, whom they asked the cause of his imprisonment; to which he answered that he knew nothing about the matter. On examination, they found no process against Solar, and the jailor and registrars were only able to say that the viceroy had given orders for his imprisonment. On the ensuing Monday, the judges represented to the viceroy that they had found no process or informations against Solar, and could only learn as the reason of his imprisonment that it was by his orders; and consequently, having no documents to instruct the lawfulness of his detention, they could not in law or equity do otherwise than order him to be set at liberty. The viceroy said that Solar had been arrested by his orders, and that he had even been inclined to have hanged him, on account of the writing on the wall of the tambo, and because of his personal insolence when there was no witnesses present; believing, by his sole authority as viceroy, that he had the power of

of arrest, and even of ordering him to be hanged, without being under the necessity of giving them any reasons for his conduct. To this the judges made answer, that his authority as viceroy could only extend so far as justice and the laws of the kingdom allowed. As the viceroy and they could not agree on this point, when they visited the prison on the following Saturday, they ordered Solar to be liberated, desiring him however to remain under arrest in his own house; and on a subsequent visitation, they set him entirely at liberty.

The viceroy was much chagrined by this affront, and sought anxiously for an opportunity of being revenged, for which he thought the following circumstance gave him a favourable opening. The three judges lodged separately with some of the richest inhabitants of Lima, who likewise provided their tables, and furnished every thing that was necessary for themselves and their servants. At first this was done with the consent of the viceroy, till such time as they might be able to procure and to furnish houses for themselves. After the dispute concerning Solar, the viceroy caused them to be informed, that it did not seem to him consistent with decorum that they should live at the expence of the citizens, which would be assuredly displeasing to his majesty, and therefore that they ought to look out for houses for their accommodation: And that, besides, he did not approve of their walking about the streets in company with the merchants and other inhabitants of the city. The judges made answer, that they had not been able to find any houses for hire, and that they were under the necessity of waiting till some then building were finished: That in future they would live at their own charges; but as to walking in the streets with the inhabitants, it was neither a criminal nor a forbidden conduct, nor in any way improper; as even in Spain the members of the royal council, or of any other tribunal, were in use to do the same, which was even useful, as in that way the merchants had an opportunity of informing or reminding them of their affairs. The viceroy and the judges were always upon bad terms, and their misunderstanding broke out into disputes on every occasion. It is said that at one time the licentiate Alvarez, one of the judges, preferred an oath to a procurator or attorney, respecting a bribe which he had given to Alvarez de Cueto, brother-in-law to the viceroy, for his interest to obtain the appointment. By this procedure of Alvarez, the viceroy is said to have been greatly offended.

During

During all this time, the passes of the mountains leading towards Cuzco had been so well guarded by the Spaniards and Peruvians appointed for that purpose, that no intelligence could be had at Lima of what was going on among the remonstrants. It was only known that Gonzalo Pizarro had gone to Cuzco, and that all those who had withdrawn from Lima and other places in the plain had repaired to the same place in expectation of a civil war. The viceroy and judges of the royal audience issued their joint proclamation, ordering, in the name of the king, all the inhabitants of Cuzco, and the other cities of Peru, to recognize and submit to Blasco Nunnez as viceroy, and to repair with their arms and horses to Lima to offer their services. Most of these proclamations were lost by the way; but that which was sent to La Plata was more fortunate, and, by virtue of its authority, Luis de Ribera, Antonio Alvarez, and the other magistrates and officers of that city, proclaimed Blasco Nunnez with much ceremony and great rejoicings: And, in testimony of their submission to his authority, they equipped twenty-five horsemen, being all the city could spare, who were sent to join the viceroy under the command of Captain Luis de Ribera. Lest Gonzalo might cut off their passage and arrest them on their march, Ribera made his way towards Lima by a desert and unfrequented road.

Some even of the inhabitants of Cuzco got copies of the proclamation, in consequence of which several of them repaired secretly to Lima to offer their services to the viceroy, as will be more particularly specified in the sequel. By their means the viceroy became acquainted with the transactions at Cuzco, on which account he found himself under the necessity of using every effort to increase his forces by means of additional levies; for which purpose he fortunately possessed ample funds, as Vaca de Castro had embarked upwards of 100,000 crowns which he had drawn from Cuzco to transmit to the king, which the viceroy took possession of and employed for the equipment and pay of his troops. He appointed Don Alfonso de Montemayor and Diego Alvarez de Cueto, who was his own brother-in-law, captains of horse; Martin de Robles and Paul de Menezes captains of foot; and Gonzalo Diaz de Pignera captain of musqueteers. Vela Nunnez, his own brother, was made captain-general of the troops, Diego de Urbina maestre de campo, or major general, and Juan de Aguire serjeant-major, or adjutant general. Without includ-

ing

ing the citizens, his army amounted to 600 men; of whom 100 were cavalry, 200 musqueteers, and the remaining 300 armed with pikes. On purpose to arm these soldiers, he caused a considerable number of musquets to be made, some of which were of iron, and others of cast metal, which he procured by melting down some of the bells belonging to the great church.

Besides frequently exercising his troops to perfect them in their discipline, he occasionally caused false alarms to be given that he might ascertain their disposition towards him, as it was much suspected that the majority were by no means hearty in the cause. Having some suspicion of Vaca de Castro, the former governor, whom he had lately allowed to be a prisoner at large on parole not to leave the city, and believing that he had some secret intelligence with his former friends and dependents, the viceroy ordered a false alarm one day about noon, reporting that Gonzalo was near at hand; and when the troops were all assembled in the great square, he sent his brother-in-law, Diego Alvarez de Cueto to arrest Vaca de Castro. At the same time he arrested Don Pedro de Cabrera, Hernan Mexia de Gusman, Lorenço de Aldana, Melchior Ramirez, and Baltazar Ramirez his brother-in-law, all of whom he sent prisoners on board a ship comanded by Jeronimo de Zurbano. A few days afterwards, he set Lorenço de Aldana at liberty, and sent off Cabrera and Mexia to Panama, and the two Ramirez to Nicaragua. Vaca de Castro remained prisoner in the ship, neither he nor any of the rest being informed of what they were accused, nor were any informations or law-processes made respecting them. While these civil discords were going on, two ships loaded with merchandise arrived at the port belonging to Arequipa [4], both of which were purchased by Gonzalo Pizarro, with the intention of employing them to transport his artillery, and for getting possession of the harbour of Lima, and seizing the ships belonging to the viceroy, believing that whoever was master of the sea along the coast of Peru must command the country, by having it in his power to land in any unguarded place and to do all the mischief he pleased, on account of the prodigious extent of coast. By commanding at sea, he would likewise have been enabled to procure arms and horses from the vessels which are in

4 Arequipa is a considerable way from the coast, on which there are several harbours, thirty or forty miles distant.—E.

in use to bring these to Peru, and would have it in his power to stop all vessels coming there from Spain with merchandise or other supplies. On learning that Gonzalo had purchased these two vessels, and the purpose for which he destined them, the viceroy was a good deal distressed, fearing they might occasion considerable detriment to his affairs, as he had no means of opposing two ships so well provided with artillery; yet he took the best measures in his power to prepare for his defence. He equipped, therefore, one of the vessels in the port of Lima, which he armed with eight brass cannon and some others of iron, with several musquets and cross-bows, appointing Jeronimo de Zurbano to the command, with orders to make the best resistance he could against the ships of Gonzalo. Fortunately these preparations became unnecessary; for the captains Alfonso de la Caçares and Jeronimo de la Cerna, who dwelt in Arequipa, went secretly by night on board the two ships which Gonzalo had purchased, and which remained waiting for their artillery, and by large bribes to the masters and mariners got possession of them for the viceroy; then, abandoning their houses lands and Indians, they immediately set sail for Lima. On their arrival off the harbour of Callao, the viceroy got notice of their approach from some centinels who were stationed in a neighbouring island, and having no doubt that they were enemies, he immediately set out from Lima at the head of a body of cavalry. In the meantime, Zerbana discharged his artillery against the two ships, which immediately lowered their sails in token of peace, and sent some of their people on shore in a boat to surrender the ships to the viceroy. This circumstance gave much satisfaction to the viceroy and all the inhabitants of Lima, as it relieved them from a danger of which they were in great fear.

While these things were going on, Gonzalo Pizarro levied troops at Cuzco, which he carefully armed and disciplined, and made every necessary preparation for war. He assembled a body of 500 men, of which he appointed Alfonso de Toro major-general, retaining the chief command in person. He divided his cavalry into two troops, one of which he gave the command of to Don Pedro de Porto-Carrero, placing himself at the head of the other. Gumiel, and the bachelor Juan Belez de Guevera, were appointed captains of two companies of pikemen; and Captain Pedro Cermeno had the command of the musqueteers. He had three standards, one having the royal arms, which was given to Porto Carrero; a second having the arms of Cuzco was confided to Antonio de Alta-

mirano,

mirano, alcalde of Cuzco, whom he afterwards beheaded as inclined to the royal interests: the third, bearing his own arms, was carried by his ensign; but was afterwards given to Captain Pedro de Puelles. Ferdinand Bachicao was made commander of the artillery, consisting of twenty excellent field-pieces, with a plentiful supply of powder, balls, and every other necessary for their service.

Gonzalo endeavoured to secure the troops in his interest, covering his designs and endeavouring to justify his criminal enterprize by the most specious pretexts. Having assembled his army he made a long harangue to the soldiers, in which he represented, "That he and his brothers, as was well known to to them all, had discovered the kingdom of Peru, which they had reduced under the dominion of the king at their own proper charges, and had already remitted very large sums in gold and silver to his majesty; yet, after the death of the marquis, the king had not conferred the government of the country, either on the son of the marquis, or on him who now addressed them, as ought to have been done in conformity with the promises and agreements which had been made at the first discovery, but had even sent a cruel and inflexible person at this time to strip all of them of their property, as it was quite obvious that every person in Peru came under the scope of the obnoxious regulations. Blasco Nunnez Vaca, to whom the execution of these fatal regulations was confided, caused them to be put in force with the utmost rigour, not only refusing to listen to remonstrances and petitions the most respectful, but treating every one harshly who presumed to offer the most humble representations against their execution; of all which, and many other things of a like nature, every one who heard him were able to testify. Besides which, it was publickly given out, that the viceroy had orders to cut off his head; although it was well known to them all that he had not only never done any thing contrary to the service of the king, but had always conducted himself with the most zealous loyalty. For all these reasons, and by the consent and appointment of the city of Cuzco, he had resolved to go to Lima, to make a representation of their grievances to the royal audience, and humbly to supplicate a suspension of the ruinous regulations, that time might be given for sending deputies to the king in the name and on behalf of the whole kingdom of Peru, to inform his majesty of the true state of affairs, and of what seemed necessary to be done in the present conjuncture; having no doubt, when his majesty

majesty was truly informed, that he would devise a suitable remedy. If however, after using their utmost efforts, his majesty should still think proper to enforce the regulations, he and all with whom he acted would then obey the royal orders with the most entire and unreserved submission. His own journey and compearance before the viceroy, considering the menaces of that officer and the troops which he had levied, were obviously attended with the utmost danger to himself and all who should accompany him, unless he and they should be in a situation to defend themselves from lawless violence. For this reason it had been deemed indispensably necessary that he and the other deputies should be accompanied by a body of troops, which they had not the most distant intentions of employing to injure any person, unless they were attacked. He entreated them, therefore, to accompany him in his journey to Lima, and to observe during their march the strictest and most vigilant discipline, and that they might be assured, he, and those other gentleman who acted along with him, would reward them liberally for their toil and bravery, in enabling them to act with effect for preserving the properties of all from ruin."

By this specious discourse, in which Gonzalo endeavoured to persuade his troops that his cause was just and his intentions pure, a considerable effect was produced, and his soldiers unanimously declared their determination to follow and defend him at the risk of their lives. He then marched out from Cuzco, accompanied by all the inhabitants of that city; and having put his troops in proper order, he gave permission that same evening to several of the citizens, as had been previously concerted between them, to return on purpose to prepare for the journey. Next morning early, twenty-five of the most eminent citizens, who had first given their assent to the supplications against the obnoxious regulations, considering that the steps which were now taking were criminal and rebellious, and dreading the injurious consequences which they would necessarily produce in Peru, came to the resolution of abandoning the party of Gonzalo and offering their services to the viceroy. They immediately set about executing this design, and went by long journeys through unfrequented ways in the deserts and mountains, lest Gonzalo might order them to be pursued, which he actually did. The principal persons in this defection were Gabriel de Roias, and Gomez de Roias his nephew, Garcilasso de la Vega, Pedro del Barco, Martin de Florencia, Jeronimo de Soria, Juan de Saavedra, Jeronimo Costilla, Gomez de Leon,

Luis de Leon, and Pedro Manjares [5]. On setting out from Cuzco, they carried with them the orders they had received from the royal audience, by which they were enjoined to compear at Lima to submit to the authority of the viceroy.

When Gonzalo was informed of this notable defection from his cause, by which all his troops seemed very considerably disconcerted, he was almost in the mind to have abandoned his enterprize, and to withdraw into the district of Charcas with about fifty horsemen of his most attached friends, to fortify himself there as well as he could; but after mature reflection, he considered it as less dangerous to follow his first intentions, and to continue the march for Lima. Having taken this resolution, he endeavoured to encourage his troops, by telling them that the deserters were assuredly ill-informed of the true state of affairs at Lima, as he had letters from the principal inhabitants of that city, assuring him that, with fifty horsemen only, he might easily bring his enterprize to a happy conclusion, and without incurring the smallest danger, as all the colonists entertained the same sentiments with him, and only needed his countenance and direction to declare themselves. He continued his march accordingly, but very slowly and with infinite difficulty, on account of the extreme labour which was requisite for bringing forward his artillery. All the cannon and warlike stores had to be carried on the shoulders of Indians, by means of levers or long spars, for which purpose the guns were taken off from their carriages, and it required twelve Indians to each gun, who were hardly able to go above a hundred paces under their load, when they were relieved by an equal number. On this account, 300 Indians were assigned to each gun, so that the artillery alone, with its ammunition and stores, required above 6000 Indians to conduct it over the mountains.

Several gentlemen and other persons of consideration who accompanied Gonzalo, began to repent of being engaged in the enterprize. They had concurred with the rest at the beginning, in the propriety of remonstrating against the execution of the obnoxious regulations, and had even offered to risk

5 Garcilasso de la Vega differs somewhat in the names of one or two of these leading men who deserted from Gonzalo, and enumerates a considerable number more, among whom he names one Pedro Pizarro, saying they were in all about forty, with many of whom he was personally acquainted.—E.

risk their lives and fortunes in that measure; but on seeing the turn which affairs had taken, and that Gonzalo gradually assumed an authority to which he had no pretensions, they wished sincerely to get away from the engagements into which they had entered. Before leaving Cuzco, Gonzalo had seized the treasure belonging to the crown, not only without the consent and authority of the magistrates, but contrary to their advice and desire. They were anxiously desirous, therefore, of retracing the dangerous and criminal steps which they had taken, and the rather because they already believed that it would be unsuccessful. Gaspard Rodriguez De Campo-rondo, the brother of the deceased Captain Pedro Anzurez, and who had succeeded to the management of his estate and Indians, was the leader of these persons who wished to return to their duty. He and the rest concerted with each other how they might best abandon Gonzalo and join the viceroy; but they were somewhat afraid of trusting implicitly to Blasco Nunnez, in consideration of the extreme severity of his character, fearing that he might punish them for the share they had taken hitherto in the insurrection, notwithstanding of this their intended tardy abandonment of Gonzalo. For this reason they resolved to take effectual measures for securing an indemnity, and sent off, by a secret and unfrequented road, letters for the viceroy and the audience, in charge of a priest named Baltasar de Loaysa, by which they craved pardon for the past and a safe conduct for their compearance at Lima; adding, that, as they held some rank in the insurgent army, being captains under Gonzalo, all their friends and dependents might be expected to follow their example, by which in all probability the army of Gonzalo would fall to pieces of itself. Besides Rodriguez, Philip Gutierez, Arias Maldonado, Pedro de Vila-Castin, and others to the number of twenty-five, concurred in this plan of abandoning Gonzalo.

Loaysa went in all haste to Lima, and, for the better concealment, he avoided uniting himself with Gabriel de Roias and the others who had formerly set out from Cuzco to join the viceroy. On his arrival at Lima, he immediately delivered his dispatches to the viceroy and the audience, and received without delay the safe conduct which his employers required. The news of this affair was soon spread over Lima, in which many of the inhabitants and others secretly wished well to the party of Gonzalo, as conformable to their own interest; and they were therefore a good deal mortified at the defection among

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among the insurgents, which they supposed would soon occasion the army of Gonzalo to disperse; after which, the viceroy would assuredly carry the regulations into execution with the utmost rigour, when there was no one to oppose him.

At the time when the viceroy was received at Lima, Pedro de Puelles, who was lieutenant of Guanuco under Vaca de Castro, came among the first to pay his compliments and to tender submission to his authority. As he had resided long in Peru, and had great experience in the affairs of that country, the viceroy gave him a new commission, by which he was confirmed in the lieutenancy of Guanuco, to which city he was sent back, with orders to hold the inhabitants in readiness to take the field with their horses and arms in case of need. Puelles not only prepared the people of his government for taking the field, but even retained in his pay some soldiers who had come from the province of Chachapoyas along with Gomez de Soliz and Bonefaz. Thinking it necessary to strengthen his army as much as possible to oppose Gonzalo, who was now marching towards Lima, the viceroy sent Jeronimo de Villegas with a letter commanding Puelles to join him without delay with all his force. On the arrival of Villegas at Guanuco, he and Puelles consulted togetber on the state of affairs, and concluded that if they should join the viceroy they would give a decided superiority to his side; and after the defeat of Gonzalo, having no one to oppose him, the viceroy would then cause the regulations to be enforced in their utmost rigour, by which the whole colonists of Peru would suffer extreme injury; as by depriving them of their Indians, not only the burgesses to whom they belonged would be reduced to poverty, but even the soldiers would be materially injured, as the burgesses would be no longer in condition to furnish subsistence to the troops as now. They came to the resolution therefore to join the party of Gonzalo, and set out immediately in search of his army for that purpose.

END OF VOLUME FOURTH.

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Kerr, Robert

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